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THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

COERCION is generally admitted, even by slaveholders themselves, to be a necessary element of the slave system of labour. In the South it appears to have received the milder appellation of discipline. Mr. Olmsted refers to it in these terms:

DISCIPLINE

"Under the slave system of labour, discipline must always be maintained by physical power. A lady of New York, spending a winter in a Southern city, had a hired slave-servant, who, one day, refused outright to perform some ordinary light domestic duty required of her. On the lady's gently remonstrating with her, she immediately replied: 'You can't make me do it, and I won't do it: I aint afeard of you whippin' me.' The servant was right; the lady could not whip her, and was too tender-hearted to call in a man, or to send her to the guard-house to be whipped, as is the custom with Southern ladies, when their patience is exhausted, under such circumstances. She endeavoured, by kindness, and by appeals to the girl's good sense, to obtain a moral control over her; but, after suffering continual annoyance and inconvenience, and after an intense trial of her feelings, for some time, she was at length obliged to go to her owner, and beg him to come and take her away from the house on any terms. It was no better than having a lunatic or a mischievous and pilfering monomaniac quartered upon her.*

* The *Richmond American* has a letter from Raleigh, N. C., dated Sept 18, which says: "On yesterday morning, a beautiful young lady, Miss Virginia Frost, daughter of Austin Frost, an en-

But often when courage and physical power, with the strength of the militia force and the army of the United States, if required, at the back of the master, are not wanting, there are a great variety of circumstances that make a resort to punishment inconvenient, if not impossible.

Really well-trained, accomplished, and docile house-servants are seldom to be purchased or hired at the South, though they are found in old wealthy families rather oftener than first-rate English or French servants are at the North. It is, doubtless, a convenience to have even moderately good servants who cannot, at any time of their improved value or your necessity, demand to have their pay increased, or who cannot be drawn away from you by prospect of smaller demands and kinder treatment at your neighbour's; but I believe few of those who are incessantly murmuring against this healthy operation of God's good law of supply and demand would be willing to purchase exemption from it, at the price with which the masters and mistresses of the South do. They would pay, to get a certain amount of work done, three or four times as much, to the owner of the best sort of hired slaves, as they do to the commonest, stupidest Irish domestic drudges at the North, though the nominal wages by the week or year, in Virginia, are but little more than in New York.

The number of servants usually found in a Southern family, of any pretensions, always amazes a Northern lady. In one that I vi-

gineer on the Petersburg and Weldon railroad, and residing in this city, was shot by a negro girl, and killed instantly. Cause—reproving her for insolent language."

sited there were exactly three negroes to each white, and this in a town, the negroes being employed solely in the house.

A Southern lady, of an old and wealthy family, who had been for some time visiting a friend of mine in New York, said to her, as she was preparing to return home: "I cannot tell you how much, after being in your house so long, I dread to go home, and to have to take care of our servants again. We have a much smaller family of whites than you, but we have twelve servants, and your two accomplish a great deal more, and do their work a great deal better, than our twelve. You think your girls are very stupid, and that they give you much trouble: but it is as nothing. There is hardly one of our servants that can be trusted to do the simplest work without being stood over. If I order a room to be cleaned, or a fire to be made in a distant chamber, I never can be sure I am obeyed unless I go there and see for myself. If I send a girl out to get any thing I want for preparing the dinner, she is as likely as not to forget what is wanted, and not to come back till after the time at which dinner should be ready. A hand-organ in the street will draw all my girls out of the house; and while it remains near us I have no more command over them than over so many monkeys. The parade of a military company has sometimes entirely prevented me from having any dinner cooked; and when the servants, standing in the square looking at the soldiers, see my husband coming after them, they only laugh, and run away to the other side, like playful children.* And when I reprimand them, they only say they don't mean to do any thing wrong, or they won't do it again, all the time laughing as though it was all a joke. They don't mind it at all. They are just as playful and careless as any wilful child; and they never will do any work if you don't compel them."

The slave employer, if he finds he has been so unfortunate as to hire a sulky servant, that cannot be made to work to his advantage, has no remedy but to solicit from his owner a deduction from the price he has agreed to pay for his labour, on the same ground that one would from a livery-stable keeper, if he had engaged a horse to go a journey, but found that he was not strong or skilful enough to keep him upon the road. But if the slave is the property of his employer, and becomes "rascally," the usual remedy is that which the veterinary surgeon recommended when he was called upon for advice how to cure a balky horse: "Sell him, my lord," "Rascals" are "sent South" from Virginia, for the cure or alleviation of their complaint, in much greater numbers than consumptives are from the more Northern States.

"How do you manage, then, when a man misbehaves or is sick?" I have been often asked by Southerners, in discussing this question.

* In the city of Columbia, S.C., the police are required to prevent the negroes from running in this way after the military. Any negro neglecting to leave the vicinity of a parade, when ordered by a policeman or any military officer, is required, by the ordinance, to be whipped at the guard-house.

If he is sick, I simply charge against him every half day of the time he is off work, and deduct it from his wages. If he is careless, or refuses to do what in reason I demand of him, I discharge him, paying him wages to the time he leaves. With new men, in whom I have no confidence, I make a written agreement, before witnesses, on engaging them, that will permit me to do this. As for "rascality," I never had but one case of any thing approaching to what you call so. A man insolently contradicted me in the field: I told him to leave his job and go to the house, took hold and finished it myself, then went to the house, made out a written statement of account, counted out the balance in money due to him, gave him the statement and the money, and told him he must go. He knew that he had failed of his duty, and that the law would sustain me, and we parted in a friendly manner, he expressing regret that his temper had driven him from a situation which had been agreeable and satisfactory to him. The probability is that this single experience educated him so far, that his next employer would have no occasion to complain of his "rascality;" and I very much doubt if any amount of corporeal punishment would have improved his temper in the least.

That slaves have to be "humoured" a great deal, and that they very frequently cannot be made to do their master's will, I have seen much evidence. Not that they often directly refuse to obey an order, but, when they are directed to do any thing for which they have a disinclination, they undertake it in such a way that the desired result is sure not to be accomplished. In small particulars, for which a labourer's discretion must be trusted to in every-day work, but more especially when emergencies require some extraordinary duties to be performed, they are much less reliable than the ordinary run of labourers employed on our farms in New York. They cannot be driven by fear of punishment to do that which the labourers in free communities do cheerfully from their sense of duty, self-respect, or regard for their reputation and standing with their employer. A gentleman who had some free men in his employment in Virginia, that he had procured in New York, told me that he had been astonished, when a dam that he had been building began to give way in a freshet, to see how much more readily than negroes they would obey his orders, and do their best without orders, running into the water waist deep, in mid-winter, without any hesitation or grumbling.

THE REV. DR. LIVINGSTON.

THE freedom of the City of London has been presented to the Rev. Dr. Livingston. The same honour has been conferred often before on men who have "distinguished" themselves, as the phrase goes, as conquerors; that is, as the directors of the wholesale butcheries of their fellow-men, God's creatures like themselves; but, in the present instance it has been more fitly bestowed on one of the true heroes of history: one who, in his zeal for the spread of the Gospel it is his mission to preach, and the spread of Christian civilization, has lite-

rally opened a path through the desert, and who contemplates soon again resuming the great labour he has only commenced. The addresses delivered on the occasion were of so high an order, so different from the common-place effusions which we are accustomed to read, that we feel sure our readers will pardon us for introducing them here, from the *Times* of the 21st ult. :

COURT OF COMMON COUNCIL.

"Yesterday a Court was held for the despatch of public business.

DR. LIVINGSTON.

"The Court presented a very gay appearance in consequence of the attendance of a number of ladies to witness the ceremony of presenting the freedom of the city to Dr. Livingston, as a testimonial in recognition of his zealous and persevering exertions in the important discoveries he has made in Africa.

"Dr. Livingston was introduced, amid great applause, by Mr. J. E. Saunders and Alderman Rose, the mover and seconder of the resolution, and was addressed by Sir J. Key, the chamberlain, after the declaration as a freeman was read, in the following speech :

"Admitting, Sir, as we occasionally do, to the freedom of our ancient city, by the public resolution and unanimous vote of this Court, those who have rendered essential service to their country and to mankind, yet hardly could two successive presentations exhibit a more striking contrast than the one recently accorded by this Court to a distinguished general and that which I am the privileged medium of conveying to you this day. True, Sir, in both cases we recognise in the objects of this honourable distinction the friends of civilization, the friends of moral progress throughout the world. But the vocation of the one led him to seek the accomplishment of these objects in the 'grappling vigour and rough form of war,' unparalleled hardships of camp and siege—in those incredible displays of heroism and patient endurance which brought more honour to his country's name in the surrender of a fortress than its capture will ever procure for the foe. Your calling, on the contrary, has led you to seek the honour of your country and the moral elevation of mankind by the peaceful triumphs of the Missionary, by the expanding influence of scientific discovery, by preparing the way for that intercommunion and commerce between alienated races, the tendency of which is to make a corporate guild of all nations, to unite all the tribes of earth in a bond of universal brotherhood, to hasten that grand millennium of the whole civilized world 'when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' But, Sir, on occasions like the present it is expected that I should explain to a newly-admitted member of our body the grounds on which this Court has designated him to an enrolment with patriots, with heroes, with statesmen, with all who have left on their generation the stamp of greatness, and whose labours will outlive their names. In fulfilling this expectation, my only difficulty is in deciding on which aspect of your beneficent labours it will become me chiefly to insist. The commercial constitution

of our body, however, would perhaps suggest that I mention first that which, except as subservient to ulterior results, you would yourself only think of last: I mean, the vast openings for commerce which, by means of your geographical discoveries, are now made in the interior of the African continent. Considering the enterprise and zeal which mark the age in which we live, there is perhaps hardly a fact more remarkable than the ignorance, the contented ignorance, in which we have allowed ourselves to remain in reference to this part of the world, leaving it on our maps a hopeless blank, a great unknown of waste and barrenness and interminable sands, as if the malediction which by some is supposed to attach to the inhabitants was thought by travellers to be extended to the soil. But what, Sir, has been elicited in the course of your laborious journeys of 11,000 miles, through the damp morass and arid desert, across rolling torrents and under scorching suns, in feverish sickness and with wasted frame? Why, that instead of a waste howling wilderness, there is, in the heart of that unexplored continent, a mine of material wealth; that nature has scattered there with lavish hand the choicest of her products; that roots are embedded in that soil of the highest value to the healing art; that the indigo-plant throws out its spreading leaf in wild and useless luxuriance; and that tusks of ivory, which would be well bartered for the best commodities of European merchandise, lie rotting in the rain or bleaching under a torrid sun. Nor are there wanting, we are glad to hear from you, facilities for entering upon this most desirable commerce. The African mind is awake. The Portuguese colonies are casting off their jealousies. The slave-dealers, taught by your wise counsels, are turning their thoughts to the prospect of a more lawful commerce, inasmuch that it seems not too much to expect, that if a ship were to sail up the Zambese river to-morrow, not only might it be soon filled with the most valuable materials for our home manufactures, but every facility for international barter would be afforded by the natives themselves. Sir, I mentioned the slave-dealer just now, and the word suggests an anticipated and glorious result of your labours, which, if realized, would make Africa almost worship the very sands which bore the imprint of your footsteps, and cause every wind that swept over her desert to resound with her deliverer's name. I allude to the ultimate extinction of the base trafficking in human blood, and so effacing from the world's history the foulest blot that ever stained its page. Sir, a nation which has expended twenty millions of her money in the abolition of the slave-trade, and still devotes a quarter of a million annually to the same sacred purpose, cannot be supposed to be indifferent to any plans by which her righteous efforts may be brought to a triumphant issue; and if, as some of our most enlightened travellers concur with you in thinking, the Moorish slave-dealer only persists in his nefarious calling because he can find no other gainful employment; and if, as your discoveries have abundantly proved, there is nothing to forbid the great Zambese river, teeming as it does on either side with all that could minister to man's natural wants, from becoming a permanent com-

mercial path into the interior of Central Africa, all hope favours the probability, that, on mere considerations of worldly policy, the trade in human flesh and blood will soon be driven out of the field, and the last vestige disappear of a practice which for centuries has been a reproach to civilization and a stigma to the Christian name. But all this time, Sir, I feel I am overlooking that feature of your successes, the hope of which first led you to embark on those perilous undertakings—successes which alone could have borne you up under the unexampled privations and dangers of the last fifteen years, and which, when the ships of merchandize have ceased, and the fine gold of earth shall have become dim—when there shall be no mercenary to drag the negro from his home, and no oppressor to bind on the fetters of the slave, will be their own satisfaction and their own never-ending reward. Yes, Sir, I am glad to be recalled from all further allusion to the commercial and social benefits of your discoveries by the remembrance that I stand in the presence, not of the accomplished traveller only, noting down with discriminating accuracy all that could throw light on the phenomena of climes and races; nor yet of the man of science only, enlarging the field of human thought and knowledge by the careful philosophy of his observations; nor yet of the enlightened statist only opening up to the enterprise of his country new channels for the development of the national resources; but that I stand in the presence of a man of God, of a Christian Missionary, of one who is willing to spend and be spent in the noblest of services, and that on behalf of the most injured and oppressed of men. Sir, let me, in the presence of this Court, and in their name, do all honour to that sentiment of yours, breathing as it does the spirit of a high-toned Christian chivalry, that 'the end of the geographical feat is the beginning of the Missionary enterprise.' Yes, Sir, what we are now doing for the evangelization of this distant continent is but the beginning of the liquidation of that righteous debt with which all Christendom is chargeable for Africa's protracted wrongs. The first instalment of that mighty debt which the retribution of Heaven demands of us for the hearts we have broken, and the homes we have desolated, and the blood which has been shed, enough to have saturated whole acres of those burningsands, when every year saw 150,000 of Africa's sons transported with ruthless violence to other climes, to furnish victims for cupidity and fraud. Oh, Sir, what heart is there so cold as not to respond to that touching aspiration in one of your letters—'May God grant me life to do good to this poor Africa!' In this assembly, I am sure not one. We do indeed tender you this token of our grateful esteem for your services to commerce, for your contribution to science, for the advanced post to which you have conducted us in the march of a moral civilization; but we would also that you should bear back with you to the scene of your honoured labours the assurance of our heartfelt prayer that the eye of an unslumbering Providence may watch over your path; that the promised presence of your Saviour may cheer you under all opposition and discouragement; that idols abolished, superstition renounced, eyes opened, hearts

converted, may be Heaven's granted tokens to you of a prospering work; and that you may not be called to your rest till you have witnessed the dawn of Africa's regeneration—till you have seen her 'wilderness become like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the East.'

"DR. LIVINGSTON, who, on rising, was most warmly greeted, said: My Lord Mayor, I beg leave to tender to your Lordship and the Court my heartfelt thanks for the honour which has just been conferred upon me. I can only say that my heart is full. (Dr. Livingston was here almost overcome with emotion.) I cannot express myself in the eloquent language which has fallen from my friend Sir John Key; but I can assure you that it has a great effect indeed upon my heart when I see the kind interest that you take in Africa, and the kind expressions which you make use of respecting my future labours there. When in Africa, I had not the smallest idea that I should be so highly honoured as I have been in this country; and when I hear the very flattering expressions which are uttered respecting my past labours, somehow or other my heart always goes forward to what is to come. In speaking to mercantile men in this city, most of whom are self-made men, I need not make any allusion to the commencement of an enterprise, which, I have not the smallest doubt, will yet be a glorious one, although I may not live to see it. All that I wish to see in Africa is the beginning—the dawn of the future, because I believe that that future will be glorious. My Lord Mayor, the capabilities of Africa are exceedingly great, and I believe that commerce has not yet done any thing like half its work. It is just beginning to extend itself, and Christianity is just beginning with her work for the future. Some years ago we knew nothing at all of many articles of commerce which now enter into the families of the poorest classes. You knew nothing of gutta-percha or of caoutchouc, which are now applied to innumerable uses; and I believe that in this new fertile country, which I have had the honour to bring to the knowledge of Europeans, many most useful articles will yet be found; and that we, feeling our dependence upon that country, will do our duty in another respect. There is one article which I believe is quite new to commerce. I have brought a few of the plants with me, and they have been subjected to the manipulation of one of the firms of this city—Pie Brothers. This plant affords a fibrous tissue, and I have the opinion of one of the foremost firms in the city, that, when prepared, it is worth between 50*l.* and 60*l.* a ton. Now this plant is totally unknown in Europe: it is a substitute for flax, and will be, I believe, a very excellent flax. Now this is only one of the many things which, I believe, exist in that country, and which are unknown to the rest of the world. When I came through the country, I came on the principle of having as little luggage as possible. I did not wish to excite the cupidity of the natives, and I went with as small an amount of luggage as possible; and on that account I could not bring away many things which I thought might be interesting to my countrymen at home. But with respect to the fruits, I passed summarily through the country without a scientific exami-

nation of it, but I found upwards of a dozen fruits totally unknown in England. These fruits I cannot be a very good judge of what they are, because, generally, I was very hungry when I got them; but certainly they were much better than the crab-apple, from which we suppose our own apple to have come, or the sloes, from which have come our plums. They are very much superior, indeed, to those fruits; and if they had the benefit of cultivation, I have no doubt but that we should have a very acceptable addition to our fruits. The tribes in the interior of the country are totally different from those on the coast. They have always been anxious to have intercourse with white men. They knew little at all of white men, or of what we were. The wonderful manufactures—that of the cotton plant, for instance—would, I believe, induce the people of a fertile country to cultivate what we need in exchange. We have a little cotton grown at different points all over the country. The cotton does not require much care, as the soil is so exceedingly fertile; and I think if any one of you should pass into that country, and travel through grass so high, that, when sitting upon the ox, it quite covers the head of the person so sitting, you would come to the conclusion I have arrived at, namely, that almost any thing might be produced there; and the people in the centre of the country are most anxious to have intercourse with Europeans. Now I hope that God will spare my life to open this field. This flax which I have spoken of, and which is worth between 50*l.* and 60*l.* a-ton, is not cultivated at all. If we find they can employ their servants to cultivate such things, and that they can sell them to advantage, and that we can benefit by the exchange, I hope that a way will be got into the centre of the country. I hope that Africa will be opened to the Gospel, and that the time will come when the central Africans will be admitted into the community of nations. We ourselves have but lately got quit of a restrictive system, and we can feel for those who have been compelled for advantage to sell their own children for the sake of a little cloth. I have seen children sold for about twelve shells. In the centre of the country you may get a slave for two shells. At the coast those shells are very cheap, but in the centre of the country they are quite as valuable as the Lord Mayor's badge. In order to shew his great friendship for me, one of the great chiefs came to me during the night. He did not wish to shew his friendship before his people; he wanted to give me a proof of his friendship somewhat in the same manner in which you now honour me. He entered my little tent, and took out a small shell, and hung it round my neck, and said, 'There you see a proof of my friendship; and when the path for commerce is made, let it come through my town.' I will just again return you my most heartfelt thanks for the honour you have conferred on me; and, as to the future, I hope you will all kindly make allowances for a great undertaking, as it must necessarily be small in the beginning. It is only by hard work that success can be reached. We must work hard and constantly. You must enter as the way opens, and I have no doubt that the future will be glorious: but the beginning

must be in a small way; and although you may not hear of any thing grand or memorable that I have done, yet recollect that I hope to be borne on by the same principles that have actuated me for the time past in all future time. I again thank you for the honour you have done me.

"Dr. Livingston, after receiving the hearty congratulations of the Lord Mayor and the principal members of the corporation, and of the Lady Mayoress and the several ladies assembled to greet the rev. gentleman, retired amid applause."

EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI.

At the risk of excluding other matter from our columns, we reprint a striking discourse on Emancipation in Missouri, delivered by the Hon. B. GRATZ BROWN, of St. Louis, in the Missouri House of Representatives, February the 12th ultimo. We quote it from recent numbers of the *Friends' Review*, and believe our readers will agree with us in regarding the speech as a most remarkable one, and quite worth preserving.

"The House of Representatives called up the joint resolution from the Senate, 'giving expression to the views of the General Assembly of Missouri on the subject of Emancipation.' The resolution was read as follows:

"Whereas, circumstances having rendered it necessary, and it is due to the constituent body of our fellow-citizens in the State of Missouri, that the Legislature of the State should give an unequivocal expression in regard to the subject of the emancipation of slaves in the State:

"Be it therefore resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri: That the emancipation of the slaves held as property in this State would be not only impracticable, but that any movement having such an object in view would be inexpedient, impolitic, unwise, and unjust, and should, in the opinion of this General Assembly, be discountenanced by the people of this State."

"Mr. BROWN, of St. Louis—I make the motion to reject the joint resolution upon its first reading. Under the operation of our rules, the only question that can now be put to this House is, 'Shall the resolution be rejected?'

"In making this motion I desire to define my position, and to explain my views upon the whole subject.

"Sir, it would indeed seem as if this Slavery agitation were never to have an end. We have experienced it throughout this State in all its most malignant forms. Like those ulcers of the body, which are no sooner healed over in one place than they break out with increased violence in another, so this disease of the body politic would appear to have become chronic. For three years past it has been fruitful of disaster to Missouri, and now we have it thrown, in advance, into another political contest—that of the approaching gubernatorial contest in August next. All things seem to be infected with it: its sway for evil and disaster seems boundless. It paralyzes the grandest enterprises of com-

merce, and at the same time fails not to influence the most insignificant local and personal rivalries. I have read somewhere, in the 'Arabian Tales' I believe, of a marvellous tent, which the fairy Perie Banou gave to a Prince Ahmed. Fold it, and it became an ornament in the delicate hands of a woman; spread it, and the armies of mighty captains might encamp beneath its ample folds. It would appear as if this Slavery question were like that wonderful tent, in its capacity to encompass all things, and its ability to attach itself even to the amenities and refinements of life. It enters into every thing, great and small, high and low, political, theological, social, moral, and has become in this latter day the standard by which all excellence is adjudged.

"I disdain to recognise that tribunal. What I may have to utter will be spoken regardless of the potent spell which has silenced many voices upon this subject, and in no spirit of deference to the rites of that *worship of whispers* with which many are wont to approach this idol of the South. I am sure I shall say nothing to provoke harshness or anger; but I am equally sure I shall not refrain from saying anything that my honest convictions may prompt. It is with feelings of this nature that I proceed to the consideration of the resolution which has just been read.

"Disregarding the preamble which ushers in the resolve, I beg leave to say that I dissent altogether from the language and meaning of the resolution. That declares that any movement, having in view the emancipation of all the slaves held as property in this State, would be '*impolitic, unwise, and unjust.*' I propose, Sir, to shew, before I get through my remarks, that it would neither be *impolitic*, nor *unwise*, nor *unjust*.

"I think it would not be *impolitic*, because, if accomplished, it would destroy the baneful stock in trade of nine-tenths of the *politicians* who now keep the land in turmoil; that it would not be *unwise*, for many reasons that can be presented here touching the welfare and prosperity of Missouri; and that it would not be *unjust*, for I have heard, as yet, no proposition submitted or indicated which points at ridding this State of Slavery without compensation or equivalents given to the owners for slaves that may be liberated. Let me add to this the declaration that I do not believe it to be either impracticable or far distant in its coming.

"Mr. Speaker—I differ in regard to this emancipation question from many persons here in Missouri, as well as elsewhere, who are Emancipationists. I differ from them chiefly as to the causes which may produce emancipation, and the means that may hasten its accomplishment. It may be that I am wrong in the convictions which have been forced upon me by all that I have seen and heard upon this subject; but yet I cannot forget what I have read of the history of the States of this Union. All the facts that stand out from those pages, so far as they relate to the spread or abolition of Slavery, only tend to confirm me the more in my impressions. I know that it existed in many of the States where it does not now exist, and that in all of them its extinction is chronicled by acts of legislation recorded upon the statute-books. But I do not

believe that this institution of Slavery ever has been abolished in any of those States simply and solely by those acts. It was virtually gone before it was prohibited. Those laws were but declarations of the existing relations of society in what are now known as the free States, and not monuments, as many contend, of a high legislative enactment based upon motives of philanthropy. I believe that the African race, and its concomitant Slavery, will go down and vanish in these United States, as the Indian race has gone down and vanished beneath the tread and march of the Anglo-Saxon, and that nothing else will ever supplant it in the State of Missouri. I believe that the demand of the white man for labour, and a field for his enterprise and exertion, will drive away Slavery, and that nothing else can effect it. The labour question will swallow up the Slavery question, and the labour question alone will do it.

"In stating this position, I wish to be fully understood, and especially as it relates to our own State. It impresses me as a foregone conclusion, that the people of Missouri will never—neither slaveholders nor non-slaveholders—undertake to abolish the system of Slavery now prevalent amongst us as a mere act of humanity to the slave; but that whenever they do take this matter in hand as a public measure it will be out of regard for the white man, and not the negro. It will be here, as elsewhere, a conflict of race, and I do say that the increase of free white population at home, together with the white emigration from other States coming into Missouri, will, whenever and wherever the labour of the white man meets the labour of the slave, beside the same ploughshare, in the same harvest-fields, face to face, not only be entitled to demand, but receive the preference, and that the labour of the white man will force the labour of the slave to give place and take itself off. The dignity, the interest, the social relations of the white population, not less than the democratic equality that interpenetrates all of our institutions of government, will necessitate this result; and when it does transpire, it will be well for the country.

"Viewing the question of gradual emancipation as a labour question, and in that light alone, I cannot but regard the resolution now submitted as having more significance, and a more sinister bearing, than its mere language might seem to warrant. I look upon it, not only as the initiation of a political agitation, but also as a blow indirectly struck at the white labouring men of this State.

"When you, Representatives, propose to declare to the thousands and thousands of free white labouring men in Missouri, who are even now claiming their rights of labour, that any movement in behalf of the emancipation of Slavery, any design of opening up to their industry all the soil and wealth of our State, is not only '*inexpedient, unwise, and unjust,*' but that it should be '*discountenanced*' by the people, you, in substance, tell your constituents that they must, henceforth and for ever, labour side by side with the slave, if they labour at all; and that all projects to ameliorate such condition, and rid themselves of such degrading fellowship, are

to be sacrificed upon the altar of your partisan zeal. Does it become you to speak such words to men who are your equals when at home, and your masters when here? Is it the tone or temper that becomes this theme—this Hall—this Assembly? I think not, and for myself I can truly say that no power of party, or weight of opposition, will ever force me to give assent to such a declaration, or to countenance a resolution that so plainly bears such construction.

"It must be apparent to all that the legitimate inference from the denunciation of all emancipation movements, as contained in the resolution before us, is antagonistic to the dignity of white labour; that it aims to place it on the same level with slave-labour; and that it designs to affix to it a disgrace and a stigma. It would mould public opinion in this State after the aristocratic fashion, if its meaning could be accomplished, and in after years entail upon our Commonwealth those extreme and radical disparities between different classes of society, which the records of the past teach us are fruitful only of revolutions, of servile wars, and of the overthrow of all stable government. As such I denounce it, and call upon those who pin their faith to its pro-slavery doctrine to vindicate it from that charge, if they would not merit indignant repudiation at the hands of those who have elevated them to the seats they occupy in this body.

"Mr. Speaker—In the remarks I have submitted thus far I have addressed myself to theoretical points, incident to this discussion and to this question. I wish now to bring into view some matters of a more direct and practical bearing upon the subject before us.

"*There is, Sir, already a gradual emancipation act in force in Missouri.* Even now the movement, looking to the emancipation of all the slaves in this State, is in successful progress. The extinction of the institution, as a system in our midst, is, at this moment, in the course of rapid accomplishment.

"This may seem a strange, bold, reckless assertion, but it is true, nevertheless. The time at which this act went into operation I need not name, but that it is in operation I will establish by most convincing evidence; and that it is an act, stronger in syntax, more thorough in effect, and speedier in result, than any written law which could be inscribed upon the statutes here, few will doubt when they come to consider the proofs. Look to the labouring population which is coming into your State, which is crowding your highways, which is extending itself along your streams and railways, which is building up flourishing towns, laying out farms, planting vineyards, in all sections of this State, and you will see the movement to which I refer. Look again, likewise, and observe, that wherever this population has fixed its domicile, or rested in its course, there it has driven off the institution of Slavery before it, as chaff before the winter wind, and you will then see how potential it is in its enforcement—how irresistible in its decrees.

"The census of Missouri has been taken during the past year, and now lies upon your tables, and there are startling facts revealed in that enumeration which will bear me out in all that I have said. To them I wish to refer you for evidences

that this abolishment of Slavery, which you are here seeking to stifle and suppress by paper manifestoes, is already in force, and is fast gathering a strength and momentum that must soon crush out all opposition. *The census of 1856 is the act of gradual emancipation in Missouri.*

"The returns are before us. Let us examine them, and compare them with the figures of the preceding years. I hold in my hand both the census for the year 1856, and for the year 1851, embracing a period of five years between them, and thus affording a fair method of analyzing the mutations of population during that interval. I will make them the basis of some calculations, and ask of Representatives that they will reflect upon the exhibits presented, and say whether I have been hasty in assertion, or inaccurate in any statement.

"There are, Sir, by computation, twenty-five counties in this State which shew an actual decrease of the number of slaves in each of them since 1851. There are one hundred and seven counties in Missouri. So that it appears at the very outset, that in very nearly one-fourth of the whole number Slavery has positively decreased within the last five years.

"There has not only been an actual decrease of the number of slaves in each of the counties named, but the increased white population has been correspondingly large. Thus, while the decrease of slaves has been 4442, the increase of whites has been 75,797; or, if we take the sum total of the counties in 1851, it will be found that the ratio of slaves to whites was then one to ten, whilst in the year 1856 it is seen to be but one to thirteen. So much for the absolute decrease of Slavery in Missouri. Concurrent with this fact, however, may be noted the attendant circumstance, that these counties are the same in which white emigration to the State is known by every gentleman here to have principally settled. Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, St. Charles, St. Genevieve, Cole, Osage, and Gasconade, have received within the last five years a large influx of German labouring population; others have been settled up by an industrious class of farmers coming from the older States; St. Louis has drawn its increase from all lands, and tongues, and trades, and spheres of life; and in each and all the system of Slavery has receded before the advance of the white race. It is in these counties chiefly that the labouring white man has come into contact with the labouring slave—and it is there, that in the course of but five years, and amid all the excitement of a wild Slavery furor, which swept over the State as a tempest of desolation, and at a time when men's lives were held in imminent jeopardy who refused to accord a divinity to this institution—there and then, I say, the energies of the white man, his demand for labour, his frugality, economy, and industry, have compelled the usages and institutions of Slavery to make room for him, and go down in the conflict.

"As another and strong evidence of what I have stated, that a gradual emancipation act is already in force in Missouri, I would call the attention of Representatives to what is transpiring, and is known to be transpiring by many now within the sound of my voice, in the counties of

this State that border upon the State of Iowa. The results of the systems of slave-labour and free-labour, and the effects upon the wealth and welfare of communities, are there distinctly visible in the rival Commonwealths. The Iowa line divides the two as clearly and strikingly as the lucid line of water which distinguishes the turbid and muddy torrents of the Missouri from the blue and sparkling currents of the Mississippi at the junction of those mighty rivers. And prominent among the facts which stand out from the contrast—perhaps more prominent than any other—is the relative price of land in the two States. In Iowa, land of like soil and situation is fully twice as high as in Missouri. This has led recently to quite a large emigration from Iowa to Missouri, along the border counties. Farmers who have settled in Iowa are selling out to new comers, and making purchases in the northern tier of counties of this State; and the census discloses that the white yeomanry, who have taken up their abode there, have practically excluded Slavery from their midst, and reduced it to an insignificant fragment of population. Thus, by a comparison taken from the returns of 1851 and 1856, we find that the relative slave and free population is given as follows in the ten counties adjacent to the State of Iowa:

Increase of slaves from 1851 to 1856.	238
Increase of whites from 1851 to 1856.	31,691

"This shews, that in five years there has been, in the counties along the Iowa line, an increase of 31,691 white citizens, while there has been an increase of only 238 slaves, or an influx of more than one hundred and thirty-two whites to every slave. The whole number of slaves, moreover, is seen to be, in the ten counties, at the present time, but 871; and that in the midst of an industrial population of 57,255 souls. Sir, it is an absurdity to say that any 'system of Slavery' obtains in those counties. It is an abuse of the phrase—a parody upon the institution. Slavery there has been excluded, *as a system*, by settlement and immigration: it lingers only *as an exception*; and the few who remain as slaves are held merely as the attachments of family pride, or the relics of family inheritance.

"The proportional increase of whites to slaves from 1850 to 1856 is sixteen to one. Slavery in the entire State has not increased in proportion to the *natural increase* of population, even in less favoured climates, while the increase of whites has been both constant and far beyond the average growth of communities. These facts conclusively establish that individual emancipation, and the removal of slaves from the State, have taken place to a large extent in Missouri during the half decade referred to; and likewise that immigration is rapidly beginning to find its way here, to supply the field of labour, and to develop the wealth that awaits industry.

"But it is proper that attention should be particularly called to that section of the State in which a large proportion of the slave increase has taken place. An examination will shew that it is confined to a few of the more central counties.

"Here, in these twelve counties, lying chiefly in the central belt of territory that borders the Missouri river, we see that the increase of slaves in five years has been 10,230, while the increase

of whites has been but 21,404, or little more than two whites to every slave; a glaring evidence of the effect which an increase of slave-labour has in diminishing the natural increase of white population. In the entire State of Missouri the whole increase of slaves since 1851, as before shewn, has been but 12,492, while the increase in the twelve counties just enumerated is shewn to have been 10,230; thus establishing, that in all the balance of the State—in the *ninety-five* remaining counties, embracing eight-tenths of the area of Missouri—the increase of slaves has been only 2262. On the other hand, in these twelve counties the increase in free white population has been but 21,404, while that in the residue of the State—in the *ninety-five* counties—amounts to 184,299. The contrast, then, will stand as follows, to wit:

Increase of free whites in ninety-five counties, 184,299	
Increase of slaves in ninety-five counties.	2262
Ratio of increase of free whites to slaves, in ninety-five counties in five years,	81 to 1

"But these ninety-five counties contain a free white population of 669,921 and a slave population of 57,471, or one slave to eleven whites. These facts and figures demonstrate, that in eight-tenths of the States, being ninety-five counties out of one hundred and seven, upon a *status* of population of eleven whites to every slave, the increase of inhabitants exhibits eighty-one whites to every slave; thus establishing, beyond all question or cavil, that the emigration which is flowing into our State from older States and from Europe is indisputably antagonistic to the *system of Slavery*. These are matters that Representatives should consider well when seeking again to renew a Slavery agitation; for there is no one thing surer on this earth, than that every disturbance of the question of Slavery contributes to shake the fabric upon which the system rests, and gives greater zeal and impetus to the advance of white labour. I have adduced twelve counties as containing nearly half the slaves in Missouri. Let me refer to some of them again before passing on. Two, and those amongst the largest, are especially to be noted, to wit: Howard and Lafayette. In each of them it will be remembered that the increase of slaves is larger than that of free white citizens since 1851, thus:

	Whites.	Slaves.
Increase in Howard in five years.	262	783
Increase in Lafayette in five years.	981	1493

"This increase, therefore, of slaves has been *at the expense* of the white population; and those who are so eager in contending for the beneficent influence of 'Slavery extension' will have to reconcile it to themselves how they give praise to an institution which is thus seen, even in the heart of Missouri, amid her most fruitful lands and enchanting scenery, to be a barrier to the advancement of their own race and their own lineage.

"The contrast which has been presented between the twelve large slaveholding counties of Missouri and the ninety-five counties that may be almost termed non-slaveholding, if we look only to the proportion between whites and slaves, is one that may well call for serious consideration. It is an exhibition of the growth of Slavery in a small section of Missouri, and of its decline else-

where under the influences of immigration from abroad. It tells us, in language not to be mistaken, that the great advance in the population of this State has taken place where Slavery has scarcely increased at all. And what does all this signify? It means, as I have before stated, that emancipation is already transpiring in Missouri; for if the statistics I have presented do not amount to that, I know not what would. It is gradual emancipation on its largest, proudest, grandest scale—emancipation gathered as a triumph in the forward march of the white race; a trophy of our own civilization. Sir, I would ask, What Act can you pass in this General Assembly equal to that census return for the year 1856? There is nothing that you could record here as law to-day that would be half so effective: it is the movement of the masses of the people, and while legislation may aid that movement, neither laws, nor edicts, nor resolutions, can prevent that movement.

"Let me now submit some other facts, to shew how slight the hold this system, as a *labour system*, has upon different sections of this State. There are twenty-two counties in Missouri which contain scarcely any slaves, having within their limits only 1019 slaves, or about *one ninety-third part of a negro to every white person*. This is what would be called, anywhere but in Missouri, practical emancipation already accomplished—an emancipation that will compare favourably with any of the free States. In like manner, such comparison might be instituted in many other localities with similar results; but though it might add somewhat to the force of illustration, it will be unnecessary to pursue it after the instances just referred to. The truth shines plainly forth, and all may see it who will.

"The fact, that in twenty-two counties the whole number of slaves is only 1019 against 94,685 whites; the fact, that in ninety-five counties the slave increase has been only 2262, or a number that is not equal to the natural increase of slaves, thus shewing clearly a large exportation from the State; the fact, that in ten counties along the Iowa line Slavery is but a nominal affair, and that upon a population, in 1851, of sixty-five whites to one slave, the increase since that time has been in the ratio of one hundred and thirty-two whites to every slave; the fact, that near one-half of the slave population of Missouri is confined to twelve interior counties; the fact, that the ratio of increased population, throughout the whole of the State, shews an average of sixteen whites to one slave; and last, and chief of all, the fact, that in twenty-five counties of Missouri the actual number of slaves has *decreased* rapidly during the last five years:—all these facts, Sir, are too important and convincing to be ignored by even the blindest prejudice that ever ran wild in the furor of 'Slavery propagandaism.'

"Is aught else needed to the argument that Missouri must ere long, from the operation of natural causes, rid herself of the institution of Slavery? If it be, I point you to her outlying position amidst free territories. On the east, we have Illinois, a free State; on the north, Iowa, a free State; and, on the west, Kansas, which no one here now doubts will necessarily become a

free State. The example of their industrial white communities, and the influence they cannot but exert upon our own citizens, will be sufficient alone to make the system of Slavery no longer a desirable or profitable institution amongst us. Already the effect of that proximity has been felt, and large slaveholders in the rich upland counties of the West are beginning to send their slaves to a Southern market. The cotton-fields and the sugar-plantations of Mississippi and Louisiana yield larger returns to such slave-labour than the rural districts of Missouri. Hemp is the only staple here left that will pay for investment in negroes, and this is the secret of half the exportation of slaves that we see daily taking place. Sir, it was but a few days since, that, standing upon the steps of this Capitol, I saw, and many others saw, gangs of slaves driven along on their route to Texas, there to find new fields of labour. That sight was to me proof that the doom was fixed upon Slavery as a system in the future history of Missouri.

"And now, with that branch of the subject I have done, and shall turn with more cheerful heart to contemplate what would be, and will be, the effect of emancipation upon the varied interests and manifold sources of wealth which so abound in Missouri.

"I think, Sir, that in all our domestic relations, as well as in our relations towards the balance of this confederacy, Missouri would be benefited by the liberation and riddance of every slave within her borders. I am persuaded, that in respect to our lands, our trade and commerce, our projected railroads, our mining interests, our political position and influence, it would vastly profit us if the people of this State were free from that burden upon their enterprise, which it may yet take some years to shake off.

"Upon the subject of the landed interests of Missouri, which many seem to consider only so far as they are wound up with, and closely allied to, the institution of Slavery, I may be permitted to submit a few observations. I am fully aware that a large portion of the best land in the State is at present, or at least was a few years since, cultivated by slave-labour. I may add, furthermore, that I am the last man on this floor who would wish to strike a dastardly blow at any species of property in this community: such action would comport neither with my feelings nor my principles. It is democratic republican doctrine that the rights of minorities, as well as the rights of majorities, should be respected; but, at the same time, it is also correct and wise, that, in matters of high public concern, the legislation of the country should be conformed to the welfare of the majority of citizens, yet ever kept exempt from passions and prejudices. It is in such spirit that I seek to approach this Slavery question upon all occasions, and in such spirit I desire now to assume my own position in the opposing views that are entertained, and interests involved, between the thirty thousand slaveholders, who are mostly landowners, and the seven hundred and seventy thousand non-slaveholders, thousands of whom are, themselves, tillers of land. I am with the latter from conviction, not less than sympathy: still I would not willingly do any wrong to the former. Satisfied, as I am,

that the emancipation of slaves would, in the end, be fully as advantageous to the first as to the last, I can, without any upbraidings of conscience, give that cause a zealous support. It can, Sir, be demonstrated that the additional value it would put upon the lands of this State, and the increased economy of culture it would superinduce, would give us an amount of capital and taxable property more than equal to the worth of every slave in our midst, even if the State paid for each man his price, and sent them out from our limits. In respect to culture by the hands of slaves, we have seen enough, in other and older States, to teach us a lesson that should not be disregarded. As one instance, I may refer you to Virginia—the first-born of the wilderness—where her once rich and teeming molds are now exhausted by the slothful and negligent cultivation that has there predominated. Year after year it has been going on—ploughing in the same furrow—until the flint of the earth has exposed its barrenness, and plantations have been abandoned and become forests. That all this is but the result of injurious tillage has since been made manifest in a singular degree. Lands, which were given up by the slaveholder as too poor to produce the necessary food to sustain its labourers under slave-culture, have since been, to a very great extent, taken up by white labouring men from the Northern States, and nurtured again into luxuriant productiveness. Those men have come into that State and redeemed the refuse farms, worn out by slave-labour, and the result is a smiling landscape, where before was a deserted cabin. The Slavery system there is now in the hands of immense proprietors, who lay claim only to the past. The future of the Old Dominion rests with the white agriculturists, who are yearly restoring value to her broad lands. Again, the effect of this institution may be seen in its influence upon the culture and proprietorship of the soil of Kentucky. The earlier days of my life were passed there, and I have, therefore, a personal knowledge touching its operation. It is true that slave-labour has not as yet been able to exhaust the miraculous fertility of a limestone country, but the other, and customary attendants upon the slave system, have not been wanting there. A generation or two has sufficed to concentrate vast tracts in the hands of single owners; while the small farmers, the men too poor to purchase labour, and too proud to work beside the slave, have been forced to burden their estates: to thatch them over with mortgages for temporary relief; and, finally, to abandon their inheritance, and seek new homes in new territories. I could name, Sir, as an illustration of this, a single vicinage, where, ten years ago, the population was double what it now is; where the country round was dotted with frequent farms; where beautiful gardens and shaven lawns spoke to the eye; but where now all is held in the hands of one or two proprietors, and farmed by overseers and slaves. Such has been the effect of that system upon the landed interests of that State, and such I believe is its necessary effect everywhere. From the earliest time, down to the present day, such has been the natural consequence of the institution, and I see not why, if left unchecked, it would not ultimately be so here likewise. From the steppes of

Russia to the plantations of Cuba it has worked out this social condition—this landed monopoly; and I see not why this State should prove an exception to the experience of all other States.

"In perusing, not long since, an able essay, by an admired American author, upon the subject of the *Decline of the Roman People*, I was most forcibly struck by the graphic delineation which he gave of the controlling and sinister influence which this absorption of the land in few hands exerted in hastening the overthrow of that great nation of antiquity. The name of that author stands high in democratic annals, and cannot but be greeted favourably in this assembly—it was GEORGE BANCROFT. It will not be too great an infringement upon time, I trust, if I quote a passage or two from his volume, which seem to me remarkably applicable to the matter we are considering. He is tracing the fallen greatness of Rome, and says:

"When Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, on his way to Spain, to serve in the army before Numantia, travelled through Italy, he was led to observe the impoverishment of the great body of citizens in the rural districts. Instead of little farms, studding the country with their pleasant aspects, and nursing an independent race, he beheld nearly all the lands of Italy engrossed by large proprietors, and the plough was in the hands of the slave. In the early periods of the State, Cincinnatus, at work in his field, was the model of patriotism; agriculture and war had been the labour and office of freemen; but of these the greater number had now been excluded from employment by the increase of Slavery, and its tendency to confer the exclusive possession of the soil on the few. The palaces of the wealthy towered in the landscape in solitary grandeur; the plebeians hid themselves in miserable hovels. Deprived of the dignity of freeholders, they could not even hope for occupation; for the opulent landowner preferred rather to make use of his slaves, whom he could not but maintain, and who constituted his family. Excepting the small number of the immeasurably rich, and a feeble and constantly decreasing class of independent husbandmen, poverty was extreme. The King of Syria had revered the edicts of Roman envoys, as though they had been the commands of heaven; the rulers of Egypt had exalted the Romans above the immortal gods; and from the fertile fields of Western Africa, Masinissa had sent word that he was but a Roman overseer. Yet a great majority of the Roman citizens, now that they had become the conquerors of the world, were poorer than their forefathers, who had extended their ambition only to the plains round Rome."

"And still further:

"He saw the inhabitants of the Roman States divided into the few wealthy nobles, the many indigent citizens, the still more numerous class of slaves. Reasoning correctly, he perceived that it was Slavery which crowded the poor freemen out of employment, and barred the way to his advancement. It was the aim of Gracchus, not so much to mend the condition of the slaves, as to lift the freemen into dignity; to give them land; to make them industrious

and useful, and so to repose on them the liberties of the State. With the fixedness of an iron will, he resolved to increase the number of the landed proprietors of Italy, to create a ROMAN YEOMANRY. This was the basis of his radical reform.'

"And shall these passages, concerning the ruin of the grandest empire of the ancients, point out to us no policy, and avert us from no fatal error in our effort to here build up the mightiest Republic of the New World? I trust, Sir, that we shall not be so blind; but that, seeing the threatened evil, we will take measures to check its growth. Let us not wed ourselves to our idols, but, confronting the future, boldly encourage such reforms in our domestic economy as may do equal justice to the rights of all, and save our wide domain from such fate as befel the fertile plains of Italy.

"Another point of view, and one that will amply repay investigation, is the bearing which gradual emancipation may have upon trade and commerce. I venture, Sir, to declare here, that it would add millions of dollars to the aggregate wealth that now floats upon our streams, and passes along our highways. So long as Slavery obtains, as a system, in our community, so long, it would seem—if we are to judge from past experience—Slavery agitations will continue to disturb all the relations of society; and to none does it ever cause a greater shock than to those exchanges that may well be styled the nerves of commerce. We have seen something of this ourselves during the past year. We have witnessed a Kansas foray, originating in a political agitation of the Slavery question, shaping itself into armed expeditions against a neighbouring territory, and eventuating in the blockade of that great navigable stream which runs through the heart of our State; in the stoppage of travel and transportation, and in the diversion of trade, that of right belongs to us, into Northern and Southern routes. It may be estimated that that one act alone of violence, upon the Missouri river, injured us to the amount of more than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, in the shape of the discouragement of transit by Kansas emigrants through our State. It certainly diverted more than ten thousand people from the accustomed route upon yonder waters that flow within our view, and forced them to seek other and devious ways to reach their destination. That is but a single item of the injury inflicted, but it is a telling item, and one that speaks volumes upon this subject of agitation. We have seen, also, the demoralization which has been so frequently produced by it upon society at large, and which, after sundering all business relations, has substituted plunder for purchase. Who does not recall, during the late Kansas war, the utter suspension of business relations which prevailed in counties contiguous to the line? There the ties which bound merchant to merchant were suddenly snapped asunder, and the consequence was, that all trade languished; shops and stores closed their doors, and put up the sign to *let*; flourishing towns sorrowed over deserted wharves, and a settled aspect of stagnation hung over all the western half of Missouri. And has not all this something to do with the question before us? Such agitations would be for ever debarred if the fruitful

cause of all this turmoil were removed; and now, especially when, by resolution, it is proposed to rekindle the flames of similar excitements in the political canvass of August next, it becomes a pertinent question to consider how much of the injury lately inflicted upon trade and commerce would be avoided in the future by an act of gradual emancipation.

"Those who would have our people embark in the cause of Southern radicalism and secession, who would have them sacrifice every interest of society to a wild agitation in behalf of Slavery extension, are but blind leaders of the blind, and have neither a true conception of the destiny that awaits our State, nor a full and just appreciation of the many social evils that are already attendant upon the institution as it exists amongst us. I am, Sir, no alarmist, and have no desire to go heedlessly into a discussion of the domestic relations between master and slave. It is not needed that I should comment upon that theme in order to a fair presentation of the matter before us. It will be sufficient to point the meaning of the views expressed in regard to Western civilization, by affirming that practical emancipation, flowing from natural causes, is one of its most striking developments; and to add that those who have lived, and acted, and felt, amidst communities where Slavery existed, know something of its attendant evils, and something of its occasional abuses. They know, that amongst the whites the chief sufferers are the young, and amongst the blacks the aged; that it superinduces thriftlessness in boyhood, extravagance in manhood, and poverty in the declining days of life; and that, taken even in its best light, there are many things about its domestic character over which it is prudent to draw the veil. Upon this point, therefore, I desire to say no more. What I have said has been dictated by no prejudice, but by an earnest desire to represent all the bearings of this subject of emancipation in their true light. Even this may be considered by some as unwarrantable liberty, and I may be arraigned, in the cant language of the day, as not being '*loyal to the institutions of the State*.' Sir, I am '*loyal*' to the welfare of Missouri, and that, I hold, transcends in importance any institution. But I am not, and never will be, '*loyal*' in the sense of blind adherence to every thing that may be established. Such loyalty would be a crime against the spirit of the age. Sir, was Virginia loyal to her institutions when she abolished primogeniture? Was Pennsylvania loyal to hers when she abolished Slavery? Were the colonies loyal to theirs when they abolished royalty? This is the cry with which bigots intimidate fools. Loyalty to existing institutions shuts out all reform. There is one institution to which all citizens should be ever loyal, and only one—that is, the sovereignty of the people. All other institutions must conform to that, or cease to exist.

"I have not the least disposition, Sir, to prolong my remarks. I have said in substance what I designed saying in regard to the past, the present, and the future aspects of the Slavery issue that has been forced upon us by the Senate resolution. The suddenness with which it has been sprung; the one day's notice only of the proposition that has been accorded to us; the inability to obtain access, in this remote capital, to valuable sources

of information that would have thrown much light upon the subject, have all conspired to render very imperfect the exposition that has been attempted. But, Sir, if nothing else has been accomplished this day, one thing has transpired, and that is, the bringing up of the whole subject for future discussion. *The introduction of this resolution has made emancipation henceforth and for ever an open question in Missouri.* I presume, Sir, that when the inquiry has been moved by those who claim to be the exclusive guardians of the slave interest of the State, men who may feel solicitude for other interests, and may be concerned directly in the encouragement of a more exalted species of labour, will not hesitate to speak out their opinions. When the champions of negro bondage press forward to inscribe their belief upon the records of this General Assembly, the vindicators of the rights of the white man, the free man, the working man, will not be slow to appeal to the verdict of an enlightened public sentiment. Hence it is, I venture to say, that emancipation is henceforward an open question in Missouri. That resolution is the warrant for full, fearless, and conscientious examination in all the after time. None other is needed; if it were, it could be found in the highest instrument of writing in our organic law. The Constitution of Missouri has made provision concerning the emancipation of all the slaves in the State. The first article of the twenty-seventh section, whilst defining and limiting the powers of the General Assembly, '*for the emancipation of slaves,*' yet points out two modes in which it may be done. The course of coming events was clearly foreseen by those who framed that charter of rights, and this great change was discussed and provided for in accordance with ideas that then prevailed. It was, moreover, incorporated into the organic law, that the Constitution itself could be amended upon this as all other subjects, by two successive and concurring General Assemblies. If then, Sir, I, or you, or any other, may be impelled to urge a radical but gradual reform in regard to this institution of Slavery, may we not, with the Constitution in hand—with high considerations of the welfare of the State at heart—and with the rights and interests of eight hundred thousand free white citizens in our keeping—may we not, I say, feel fully prepared to stand forward and answer at the bar of public opinion with triumphant and convincing argument?"

BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

LEEDS YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.
The *Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society* recently formed at Leeds is constituted as follows:

Wilson Armistead, Esq., *President.*

Vice-Presidents:

Rev. G. W. Conder.	Rev. Wm. Hudswell.
Rev. W. M. Punshon.	Rev. T. W. Pearson.
Rev. C. J. Donald.	Rev. John Wynne.
Rev. John Harvard.	Alderman Richardson.

Mr. William Bilbrough, *Chairman of Committee.*

Mr. Joseph A. Horner, *Treasurer.*

Hon. Secretaries:

Mr. George Wright. | Mr. Samuel P. Annikin.

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BASIS.

"Slavery being a crime abhorrent to humanity, and in direct violation of the laws of God, it is a solemn duty to labour for its entire and immediate abolition.

"That the object of this Society be to acquire and diffuse information respecting Slavery, particularly American Slavery, and to awaken, arouse, and sustain a sympathy therein, in the minds of young men.

"Inasmuch as the American Churches are the bulwark of American Slavery, this Society will specially endeavour to induce the British Churches to aim to impress an anti-slavery character on the American religious bodies."

We cordially wish this young Society success, and hope similar ones will be formed in other parts.

DONCASTER LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

This Association was established on the 14th April ult., under the auspices of Miss Julia Griffiths, on the same basis as others instituted by her, its principal objects being, to sustain *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, and to promote the success of the Rochester (U. S.) Bazaar. Mrs. Jenkinson and Miss Clough were appointed Secretaries.

BIRMINGHAM LADIES' NEGRO'S-FRIEND SOCIETY.

The thirty-second Anniversary of the *Birmingham Ladies' Negro's-Friend Society* was held on the 12th ult. There was a numerous attendance of ladies. The subject first presented was the appropriation of the income during the past year, which was distributed, in grants, to the *Anti-Slavery Society* in London; to four stations in Jamaica, which are the centres of many schools, and under the immediate care of Missionaries; also to schools in Antigua and Demerara; to the *Vigilance Society* in Philadelphia, which provides for the passing on of fugitive slaves; to *Frederick Douglass' Anti-Slavery Journal*; and to the *Free-Labour Committee*. The rules of the Society underwent a revision, to adapt them to its present claims and objects. The importance of a right estimate of the character and condition of the Jamaica peasantry was brought before the meeting. The *Anti-Slavery Society of London* has addressed inquiries to many gentlemen in the island, in different positions, whose replies satisfactorily prove the industry of the people, and their readiness to work when considered and fairly paid; and that the relative number of offenders amongst them against law and order by no means exceeds that of the classes above them. With the members of Christian churches, any in-

fractions of law are very rare. These facts were fully confirmed by a gentleman who has just arrived from the West Indies, a native, and connected by birth with the planting interest. The report contained a comprehensive summary of recent events in America, an account of home operations, and strongly advocated the disuse of slave-labour commodities, especially the sugars of Cuba, whose production is so largely maintained by the African slave-trade. Samples of free sugars, coffees, and rice were abundantly supplied, for the inspection of the meeting, by the chief grocers of the town. In the use of Cuban sugar it must be borne in mind, that not only is the condition of the African slave involved, but also that of the Chinese coolie. The following is the description by an eyewitness of the state of the Chinese: "They are sold by public auction on their arrival, and they are worked, under the whip and the pistol, in the same gangs as the slaves, for seventeen or eighteen hours a day, seven days in the week. They are penned up at night, hundreds of men together, like mules or oxen, in jail-like barracoons, and guarded by ferocious bloodhounds, kept on every estate for the purpose. I firmly believe, with Mr. Gladstone, that they are literally worked to death in a very few years." This statement was extracted from a letter of James Lamonts, Esq., published in the *Times*, April 22.

EDINBURGH LADIES' EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

We have been favoured with a copy of the twenty-fourth Annual Report of the above-named Society. It is an extremely interesting document, shewing that the labours of the Committee have been unremittingly directed to the accomplishment of the Society's objects. It has an appendix containing letters from Thomas Garrett, Lewis Tappan, J. M. McKean, and Professor Stowe, which give much useful and encouraging information.

DUNDEE LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

The fifth Annual Report of the above Society is to hand, and shews a considerable amount of work accomplished with an income under 25*l.*, but with a balance in hand of nearly 75*l.*, which has been since appropriated in furtherance of the abolition movement in this country and in America.

AMERICAN ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

PHILADELPHIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE twenty-third Annual Report of this Society is before us, and gives a brief, but interesting outline of the progress of the anti-slavery cause during the past year, which presents many encouraging features. The proceedings of the Society are intimately allied to those of the *Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society*. The annual fair, held last December, realized 1759 dollars net.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, JUNE 1, 1857.

MEETING OF FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

A MEETING of the Subscribers, and of the friends of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, was held, as convened by Circular, at the *White Hart Tavern*, Bishopsgate Street, on Monday evening, the 18th ultimo. The Chair was taken by the Treasurer, George William Alexander, Esq., who stated several facts which justified him in believing that the anti-slavery movement was making perceptible progress in the United States. He considered it to be the duty of the friends of humanity to continue their efforts for the suppression of the great evil which involved so many millions of our fellow-creatures in suffering, and deprived them of their natural rights, whilst the system of Slavery itself being one which violated the principles of morality and of the Christian religion, it was incumbent upon all who professed to be governed by them to bear their protest against so monstrous an iniquity.

The Secretary then gave a verbal abstract of the Report,* and of the Society's income and expenditure for the year 1856, after which the Chairman introduced James Cropper, Esq., of Kendal, stating that it afforded him much pleasure to see the grandson of one of the oldest labourers in the cause, present to take part in their proceedings.

MR. CROPPER said, that although he had not hitherto taken a prominent part in the anti-slavery movement, it was one which had always commanded and possessed his warmest sympathies. His attention had been quite recently more especially directed to it, in consequence of its having occurred to a few friends of the cause in Kendal that the time was propitious for the professing Christians of this country to issue an address to their fellow-Christians in the United States, on the subject of the abolition of Slavery. It was deplorable to what an extent the American religious bodies were implicated in the maintenance of the system, either by their open advocacy and defence of it, or by their culpable silence upon it. It had been truly said that the "American churches were the bulwark of Slavery." He believed it, and that alone would be a reason for all Christians to unite in a remonstrance addressed to those who, by their position and profession, were bound to use their utmost efforts to abolish it. He thought, that

* The Report is issued uniform with the June Number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and may be had by non-subscribers at Fourpence per stamped copy.

amongst other things we, in this country, might do, towards correcting public opinion in the United States, was to take every opportunity of bearing a testimony against those ministers who took no part, in their own land, in the abolition movement, or were known to be opposed to it. Such men would feel it as a severe rebuke, if, when they came here, our ministers refused to receive them into their pulpit, and the privilege of addressing public meetings from the platforms of our Religious and Philanthropic Associations were also denied them. He trusted that the effort to which he had alluded would be productive of good results. At any rate it was our duty to make it: the issue must be left to a higher power. He had great pleasure in finding himself surrounded and encouraged by so many tried friends of the cause, and hoped their example would encourage, not only himself, but many others, to continue the good work they had commenced. He would move that:

"The Report, of which an abstract had been printed, be adopted, and printed and circulated under the direction of the Committee; and that the gentlemen whose names have been read do form the Committee for the ensuing year, with power to add to their number."

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., having assumed the Chair, the meeting was addressed by the Rev. J. H. PHILLIPPO, who, in seconding the resolution, expressed his gratification at having been once more permitted to meet with friends with whom he had laboured in past years.

The speaker then proceeded to give, at considerable length, the results of his experience during a thirty years' residence in Jamaica, he being the oldest Missionary in that field. He gave an outline of the position of the labouring classes during the continuance of Slavery and of the apprenticeship system, and dwelt upon the marked improvement, in every respect, that emancipation had caused in their condition. He defended them against the charge of idleness, and said that the dishonesty of their employers had in many cases greatly disaffected the people, but that they were always willing to work for fair wages; and in every case where a refusal to do so had taken place, he would undertake to affirm that it would be found to have been in consequence of some unfair dealing on the part of their employers. He also entered into a brief statement of the condition of Jamaica generally, and affirmed that the estates that had gone out of cultivation had been mortgaged in the time of Slavery to far beyond their value; so that with falling prices and the alteration of the sugar-duties there was no possibility of redeeming them. But he was glad to say that property was looking up, and, where capital was judiciously

employed, it gave an adequate return. It must not be forgotten either, that if large estates had diminished, small ones had increased; for a very large number of the labourers had now their freeholds, consisting of from two and three to ten acres and upwards, and they were producing sugar and other staples on their own account, besides working for the planters. On the whole, he could aver that emancipation had been a great boon to the negro, and he affirmed that its results would stand the closest investigation; for that, taken as a body, the labouring population of Jamaica would bear favourable comparison, morally, socially, and religiously, with any people on the face of the globe. They were setting a good example, which ought to satisfy any one there was no danger in immediate emancipation; and he earnestly hoped the day was not far distant, when the sun should not rise on a tyrant nor set upon a slave.

MR. JOSEPH STURGE expressed the gratification he had experienced on entering the room, to meet with his friend, Mr. Phillippo, whom he had known in Jamaica so many years ago. He believed his statement with reference to the people was quite borne out by the answers which the Committee had received to questions addressed to several prominent men, Missionaries and others, in the island, in consequence of unfavourable reports having reached this country, of the results of emancipation. He deeply regretted to learn that the slave-trade was still carried on to such an extent, and thought it proved the soundness of the principle on which the *Anti-Slavery Society* had been established, namely, that so long as Slavery itself existed, there was very little hope of the slave-trade being extinguished, for if the Trans-atlantic traffic were put a stop to, there would always be the internal slave-trade, and this, in many of its features, was even worse than the other. With respect to the movement to which Mr. Cropper had referred, he felt very strongly, that so long as we were consuming the products of slave-labour, we hardly entered upon the anti-slavery contest with clean hands, and it would give much moral force to any movement on this side, if those who took part in it could say they were consumers of free-labour produce only.

THE REV. WALTER DENDY supported the resolution, confining himself to giving some valuable statistics of crime, and shewing that it was not on the increase, whilst very many of the offences which went to swell the catalogue were trivial, and would not be punishable in this country, save by a slight fine, whilst many would not even be regarded as offences at all. He also corroborated the statements of Mr. Phillippo respecting the industriousness of the people, and gave some gratifying illustrations of

their thriftiness and general prosperity. He also dwelt upon the increase of education amongst them, and repudiated with indignation the disparaging charges that had been brought against them.*

The resolution having been put and carried, STEPHEN BOURNE, Esq., who had returned from Jamaica only the evening before, after a visit of eight months, said: That although he might say much to interest the meeting, as he had only on Sunday last returned from Jamaica, at that late hour he would only ask their attention to a very few facts. When he went to Jamaica as a Special Magistrate in 1834, he only knew of one place of public worship within seven or eight miles of his residence, and that was attended once a fortnight by about twenty-five persons. There was also a Sunday School, with very scanty attendance. When he went out to the same place in October last, he found seven churches and chapels, and was told the attendance on every Sabbath-day was at least from 1500 to 2000. With regard to Sunday-School instruction, Mr. Sturge and Mr. Candler, when they visited him in the St. Andrew's mountains, saw two schools in which he and his family endeavoured to instruct the people on every Sunday. Desirous of seeing what improvement had since been made, and also of doing what little good he could on the Sunday afternoons, he had invited any of the old scholars or their families to come to the Botanic Gardens every Sunday at three o'clock, for an hour and a-half. He told all that could read to take Testaments, and to his delight, as well as astonishment, out of fifty who attended, no less than thirty-five could read the New Testament well, and answer such questions as he put to them, with a readiness and accuracy which would have been satisfactory in an English Sunday School. With a view to put to the test the capability of the mountain land for the cultivation of fibres and cotton, with English potatoes, peas, and corn, in the intervals, he had offered two or three labourers employment to make hills on the land, resembling, though not quite so large as, yam hills, at the rate of 1s. 6d. for 100 hills. He went three days after to pay them, and expected to find 400 or 500 hills made: to his astonishment, he found the people had made above 12,800 hills; that forty-nine had been at work; and that at least 200 applicants had been rejected. How, then, could it be said that the people were not ready, and even eager, to labour for moderate wages, or that they had not profited by the means of Christian instruction which had been afforded them? How could

it be said that they were incapable of improvement, or careless about it, when their attendance on public worship was, at least in one district, multiplied by sixty times since 1834? And when, out of fifty scholars, thirty-five could read the words of Inspiration? The truth was, that there were persons who misled the English proprietors, induced them, to throw their estates out of cultivation, and then purchased or leased them at rents far, very far, below that which they paid. A respectable man whom Mr. Sturge had visited when in Jamaica assured him (Mr. Bourne) that an estate in St. Mary's or Clarendon, belonging to an English nobleman, had been thrown up as a sugar estate, and was rented by an old St. Andrew's coffee-planter for 60*l.* a-year, who had let off as much as produced him 360*l.* per annum; deducting, of course, from this amount expense of collecting and bad debts. These facts would speak for themselves, and he would say no more than to express his hope, that the respected Missionaries, Messrs. Phillippo and Dendy, who had long laboured in the cause of freedom and religion, and whose veracity could not be questioned, would endeavour to arouse the attention of the whole British public to the fact, that an ample supply of fibres and cotton for the use of our manufacturers might be grown in Jamaica and other West-India Colonies, provided only that the friends of freedom would aid in setting afoot and sustaining such experiments, as would prove that capital might be safely and profitably applied to the purpose. Aided by a few friends, he had made such an experiment on a small scale, and had left cotton in blossom, which would soon ripen, and be forwarded, with a statement of the quantity produced, and sent to the Chamber of Commerce at Manchester. There was suitable land enough in Jamaica, to be had at a very low price, to produce all the cotton now imported from the United States of America. The cotton-tree being, in Jamaica, a perennial plant, and far more productive than in New Orleans, there seemed to be no good reason for not raising it in large quantity, as it might be cleaned and picked by women and children. What was required was, such experiments under the direction of the friends of freedom as would induce capitalists to turn their attention to the subject. The same might be said of the native fibres for cordage and paper. Mr. Bourne further stated that he learned from a very intelligent gentleman on board the packet, who had resided for many years in Porto Rico, that no slaves were now introduced to that colony; that 4000*l.* had been paid recently for twenty able-bodied negroes; that 50*l.* or 60*l.* an acre was the value of good cane or plantain land; and that the price of free-labour exceeded that of free-

* We expect from these two gentlemen a written statement on the condition of the people which we shall publish forthwith.

labour in the British West-India Colonies. At St. Kitt's the labourers are working well, and seem contented; Barbadoes was never more prosperous; and in all the Colonies (except Jamaica, and that only in some portions of it) estates were in full work, and selling, when sold, at advanced prices. Many persons who, under the influence of panic, had sold off their coppers and dismantled their estates, bitterly repented their precipitancy.

Mr. Bourne then proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which, being duly seconded, after a suggestion from John Allen, of Liskeard, to the effect that the statements made that evening might do much good if printed in a pamphlet form, and circulated, was duly put and carried, and the meeting separated.

THE SLAVE TRADE TO CUBA.

THE ANTI SLAVE-TRADE MOVEMENT IN JAMAICA.

In our April Number we published an outline of the proceedings at two meetings held at Spanish Town and Kingston, Jamaica, on the 6th of February last, to protest against the continuance of the slave-trade to Cuba, and to concert measures to obtain its suppression. The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have forwarded the following resolution to the Chairman of the meetings in question:

"The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have read with much satisfaction the reports published in the Jamaica newspapers of the meetings that have been held at Kingston and Spanish Town against the continuance of the slave-trade to Cuba, and rejoice that steps are being taken to give public opinion in the island, on this subject, a practical direction. The Committee desire to express their sympathy with the movement, and their readiness to co-operate in it to the utmost extent of their ability; and would encourage the friends of the slave in Jamaica to continue their efforts to put an end to a traffic, which is not only the immediate means of subjecting the free laborers in the British Colonies to an unjust and most injurious competition with slave-labour, but is a disgrace to humanity, a blot upon the civilization of the nineteenth century, and an outrage upon the Christian religion.

The last West-India mail brings intelligence of the capture of a slaver, under circumstances which prove to what an extent the traffic in slaves to Cuba is being carried on, for, by the confession of the captain, a Spaniard, he had made several successful trips, the profits of which more than compensated him for the loss of 75,000 dollars (18750*l.*) involved by the capture of his vessel

in the present instance. The interpreter stated that several vessels had been left on the coast of Africa; that they were soon to sail with full cargoes; that, upon an average, two vessels departed weekly, each with from 500 to 700 slaves on board; that the trade was rapidly increasing, and that the slaves, on being landed in Cuba, are worth from 500 to 700 dollars each.

We quote the subjoined particulars from a letter which appeared in the *Times* of the 21st ult., signed by Mr. Leonard Rowe Valpy, nephew of the late Chief Justice Rowe of Jamaica.

"I have received several communications from Jamaica, including a letter signed by the Rev. James Watson, a Presbyterian minister, and two other gentlemen of considerable position, in which they vouch the correctness of the information supplied. I regret that the length of this communication precludes the hope of your being able to insert it at length, and I have culled the following statement from its contents:

"The slaver was a schooner of only 150 tons, name and nation concealed, though clearly of American build. When the vessel was captured there were 380 slaves on board, huddled together naked as they were born. There was not room for them to lie down, and they sat upon their haunches in rows, packed one between the legs of another, between the hold and the deck, on boards placed over water-casks, without light or air but from the hatchway. If they moved, the poor creatures literally rolled over one another, being packed as thick as they could sit from stem to nearly the stern of the vessel. Between the bare boards on which they were placed and the main deck the height was only 3½ feet. Five hundred human beings were jammed into this horrible hole, though it is beyond all comprehension how they were thus stowed away. The filth and stench, aye, and the mass of vermin, were indescribable; and can we wonder that 120 of the sufferers died (shall I not say, were murdered?) on the passage? Twenty more expired under the British flag, but before they could be landed on British soil.

"Of those landed in Jamaica about 300 are boys, and there are 40 girls, all ranging from 14 to 20 years of age. Of old men and women there were none.

"The cabin of the vessel is about six feet square, formed by a thin bulkhead, and so small that no one can stand upright. Into this foul den of the captain were stowed the forty naked girls, that monster himself, and the mate, sleeping by turns in the same horrible state. Sleeping did I say? Would that it had been so!

"This man (the captain) who is only about thirty years of age, stated that he had been engaged in the trade for a considerable period, and had many successful voyages, so that, although his personal loss on this occasion would amount to nearly 75,000 dollars, he should still have abundant means. This admission adds confirmatory proof, if it were wanting, that the slave-trade is as brisk as ever, and that agitation, hearty action, on the part of the British people,

is as necessary at this time as at any former period, if this foul and abominable crime is to be suppressed. In conclusion, I would quote the language of one of the speakers at a meeting lately held in the city of Kingston on this subject:

"The giving of liberty to the captive was Britain's glory, her honour, her moral grandeur. Then she looked on the production of the slave with abhorrence: sugar appeared as tainted with blood. But, Sir, the change for the worse has succeeded. The love of cheap sugar has thrown deformity over that noble figure, blinded that clear eye, given a material coarseness to the whole feature, and filled that heart with coarse calculation of coin, instead of heroic pulsation for the emancipation of the slave. The cheapness of sugar seems to have reconciled Britain to her culpable negligence, if not guilty connivance. In all her history I know nothing like this: her honour is tarnished, her word broken, and humanity is disappointed. Until the slave-treaties are enforced, there hangs upon us the cloud of national guilt. Humanity in general, and the slave in particular, was our client, and by the most solemn conventions we said we would act as the patron and the friend. A man's word is no trifle; a nation's solemn vow is indeed a solemn thing."

The correspondent of a Liverpool merchant adds, that, when the slaves were released some of them could not regain an upright position; and that the amount of the bribe given to the Captain-General for his connivance is two ounces of gold, or 6*l.* 8*s.*, for each slave brought. From another source we learn that the mortality was 138 in fifty-three days, 40 having died in one day.

For this distressing state of things what is the remedy? The cruiser scheme has proved abortive to put an end to the traffic in human beings. Treaties are disregarded. Remonstrances are unavailing, for they are practically treated with contempt. Surely that voice, which the Premier and other equally distinguished statesmen have pronounced to be "more potent than the thunder of cannon and the point of the sword," is competent to achieve a victory over what appears to be Government apathy and what we know is Spanish dishonesty! We cannot but believe, if the British nation and the British Parliament did but speak resolutely, that their united voice would produce a beneficial effect; though, so long as Slavery itself exists, there will be powerful inducements to continue the traffic that feeds the system. But the attempt can be made to stimulate Her Majesty's Government to press for the adoption of a measure which, it is admitted, would go far to effect the desired object, if it did not even completely do so; and we cannot do better than repeat, on this occasion, a paragraph from the Address on the Cuban slave-trade, presented by a deputation from the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* to the Earl of Claren-

don, on the 26th of February ult., and which was printed at length in our April Number.

"As Her Majesty's Government appears to have arrived at the conclusion, that to declare and to constitute slave-trading to be piracy is the only measure calculated to ensure its speedy suppression; as this view also appears to be confirmed by Her Majesty's representatives at the Havana; and as by this time the Cabinet of Madrid must have received from Cuba full information on this subject, and be aware that the contemplated measure would not entail the disastrous results that were alleged; the Committee would respectfully submit whether the time has not arrived when Her Majesty's Government may press the Cabinet of Madrid for an immediate decision."

We refer our readers to the back Number in question for the facts on which this recommendation is based.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

PARLIAMENTARY.

WE quote from the *Times* of the 23rd the report of an interpellation that took place on the previous evening, on the subject of the slave-trade. It will be observed that the Government expresses small hopes of its ability to induce Spain to put down the traffic.

"Sir G. B. PEACHELL, who had a notice upon the paper of his intention to call the attention of the House in committee upon the navy estimates to the increase of the slave-trade, rose apparently under the impression that the dowry of the Princess Royal had been disposed of, and that the House were in committee on the navy estimates. An ineffectual attempt was made by Mr. Wilson to explain the state of the case, and the hon. and gallant member proceeded with his address. He said that various treaties had been made by the noble viscount (Lord Palmerston) when at the head of the Foreign-office, to abolish the slave-trade, and he was astonished beyond expression at seeing what had happened since the noble viscount had left the department of which he had been so conspicuous an ornament. The noble viscount had succeeded in dissuading Brazil from countenancing the traffic, and Brazil now treated the slave-trade as piracy. It was impossible to doubt that the Emperor of the Brazils was honest and sincere in his desire to put down the slave-trade, and Brazil was doing her best to co-operate with us. There was now no further occasion for ships to watch the Brazilian coast, and they might safely be withdrawn, and brought to a coast where the slave-trade flourished more than ever. In 1853 Mr. Hume obtained a committee to see what foreign countries had fulfilled, or neglected the treaties on this subject. The report of that committee was drawn up with great moderation. The Spanish authorities passed a decree to enforce the registration of slaves. The British Government had been deceived by this proceeding, and had relaxed their efforts to suppress this

vile traffic. The class of vessels employed in the service was not adapted to the duty: they ought to be of light draught, whereas they were vessels drawing from sixteen to nineteen feet of water, and were almost entirely useless. Moreover, the ships were not numerous enough, many of them being sent away to other stations. The Blue-book published on this subject last year shewed that the Government were chargeable with laxity or some other quality in not compelling Spain to put down the slave-trade with Cuba. The correspondence sent by the Commissary Judge of Havana to Lord Clarendon proved that large numbers of slaves were imported into Cuba, and that the system of registration was not honestly carried out. The owners of slaves were actually furnished surreptitiously with register tickets by the Cuban officials, to be ready for distribution when the next cargo of slaves arrived. The law of registration not being rigorously enforced, the traffic went on, as before, unchecked. Mr. Crawford, Commissary Judge, wrote in July 1855, that only one case of capture came before the Mixed Court during the previous six months. In January 1856, again, he wrote that no case had been brought before that tribunal during the last half-year, and yet thirteen days later they had the same authority stating that the slave-traffic was carried on with more than ordinary activity. In 1855, 4806 slaves were actually landed in Cuba, of which number the Spanish authorities captured only 125. The hon. and gallant gentleman referred to various returns for the purpose of proving that no real effort had been made to suppress the slave-trade, and that the vessels which were supposed to be engaged in looking out for slavers were almost always lying idle in some West-Indian port or other. A meeting was held in February last in Jamaica, the Bishop of Kingston in the chair, for the purpose of petitioning both Houses of Parliament, to direct that immediate and effective steps should be taken to suppress the slave traffic in accordance with the existing treaties. Last year he had suggested that some of the gunboats which had been made use of during the war should be stationed on the coast of Cuba, and he had understood the noble lord to promise that this should be done. To his great surprise, the First Lord of the Admiralty had since stated that these boats would be a great deal too hot for that climate. Surely, however, proper vessels could be found of a light draught for the purpose required; and the Jamaica people were so impressed with the desirability of employing some sort of boat of this description, that they had, in anticipation of their arrival, chalked out the very points at which they ought to be stationed. In dealing with the suppression of the slave-trade there were difficulties to be encountered, not merely with the Captain-General of Cuba, but with the population of the island generally. We ought either to compel these people to observe the treaties which had been entered into, or withdraw our ships altogether.

"ADMIRAL WALCOTT hoped the Government would not consent to the proposal of the hon. and gallant member to employ gunboats in the suppression of the slave-trade. If they did not

afford good accommodation to the officers and men employed on the coast of Cuba, many valuable lives would be lost, and such accommodation could not be obtained in these gunboats. In 1823 he was in command of a frigate off the coast of Cuba, for the purpose of putting down piracy and preventing the landing of slaves. He found his ship unfit for the purpose, and he was reluctantly compelled to employ boats. Being unwilling to ask officers to do that which he would not undertake himself, he went along with the boats, and was successful with regard to the pirates, but not with regard to the landing of slaves. The coast so abounded with creeks and inlets, that without a very considerable force it was impossible to suppress the slave-trade in Cuba. He had sixty or seventy men with him, and when they returned to Jamaica after an employment of some weeks he was invalided, many of the men were the same, and a fever breaking out in the frigate led to the loss of several lives. No doubt the cause of humanity impelled us to take steps for the suppression of the slave-trade, but still we should have some consideration for the lives of our brave officers and men, and not employ them in services which could not, in the nature of things, be successful. He saw no method by which the slave-trade could be suppressed but that which the noble lord the First Minister had so successfully pursued before—to use his influence with the Crown and Government of Brazil to come forward themselves and put down the obnoxious traffic. They could do it with greater advantage than any other Power, for they had men inured to the climate, and possessed full information on the subject.

"Sir C. WOOD said that the hon. and gallant member for Brighton had been more successful in pointing out the difficulties which beset our efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade than in suggesting how they might be got over. No doubt many vessels were sent out from America which were sold or transferred, and then employed in this traffic; so that the difficulty of knowing the slavers from the genuine American merchantmen was very much increased. As to the suggestion that we should establish a sort of series of coastguard stations round the coast of Cuba, if the Spanish Government would allow us to do that, they might just as well suppress the slave-trade themselves, which they could do with the greatest ease. He was afraid, however, that the whole people of Cuba, from the Governor-General downwards, were bent on favouring this traffic, from which they thought that they gained such great advantage. He was of opinion that the most effectual means of putting down the traffic was by increasing the African squadron.

"Sir J. TRELAWNY was opposed to the employment of our naval forces on this service, thinking that we had no right to sacrifice the lives of our men on so unhealthy a station.

"Mr. KINNAIRD asked whether any communications had recently been made to the Spanish Government in reference to the increase of the slave-trade in violation of all treaties. The slave-trade was more rife now than ever, as was shewn by an account recently published in

the public papers as to the enormous profits gained upon the cargoes of slaves. A captain engaged in the traffic, whose vessel had been seized, was reported there to have said, that though he lost 6000% by the seizure, yet he stood to gain 32,000% had he succeeded in running the cargo.

"Lord PALMERSTON said that Lord Clarendon had very recently renewed the representations which he had very frequently made before to the Spanish Government upon the subject of the Cuban slave-trade. The Spanish Government invariably gave the most satisfactory answers to these representations, invariably promised increased vigilance against the slave-traders, and invariably expressed its doubts as to the correctness of the accounts which the British Government had received and forwarded to them on the subject. It was not a very hopeful task to have to work through the Government of Madrid upon the Government of Cuba, which was swayed by arguments usually very powerful with colonial governors; but he could assure his hon. friend, that so far as exhortations went, no efforts should be wanting to induce the Spanish Government to take immediate steps to put down the traffic."

THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

BARBADOS.

WE have come across the following testimony, from the Bishop of Barbados to the effects of emancipation in relation to the people of that island. It quite corroborates the statements we published last month respecting those of Jamaica.

SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE BARBADIAN."

"SIR—There has been, I learn, some misunderstanding of what I said, with some reference to Slavery, at the public meeting at Kingstown, St. Vincent, on the 16th of last month. The misunderstanding imputes to me a sort of preference of Slavery to freedom, or at least a belief that emancipation has proved a failure. The imputation strikes myself, and I trust will strike those who know me, as so utterly at variance with my habitual feelings, and language, and conduct, that any contradiction of it, amongst such at least, is quite superfluous. As, however, I do not wish to be regarded, even among strangers, as an advocate of Slavery and its atrocities, or as unthankful, notwithstanding the abuse of it by some, for the "great blessing of emancipation, I should feel obliged if you would give insertion, at your early convenience, to the following extracts from a charge delivered by me at the Cathedral, on the 27th of November last, not three weeks before the meeting in St. Vincent.

"I would only add, that on the occasion referred to, my object was, not to enter into any comparison between freedom and Slavery, but simply to solicit the co-operation of the lay members of our Church in correcting those moral

evils, which, *notwithstanding* the emancipation, still abounds, alas! amongst us; and the following extracts will give the substance of what I then said, if not the actual words which I used.

"I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

"January 13, 1857.

"T. BARBADOS."

EXTRACTS.

"Before I conclude, I would offer a remark or two upon the state of our population in regard to religion and morals. There is an impression in some quarters that we are retrograding, both high and low. Such is not my own belief. I acknowledge that there are one or two facts which seem to tell that way. 'But, in drawing general conclusions from such facts, it is not, I think, sufficiently kept in mind, that one of the necessary results of emancipation was, not merely to bring all social evils more under the public eye, and to throw upon the magistrate or upon the public, in the suppression of disorder or in the relief of distress, much which formerly fell upon the proprietor, but farther to remove checks which before existed, and to leave men more free to follow their own inclinations, whether good or bad. Hence some have become better, others worse; and with more it may be of misery and crime in one vein of society, we have in others more intelligence and respectability, more virtue and piety. In Slavery, the silver and the dross were more blended together: it has been the effect of freedom to separate them, and, by giving more play to men's own wills and inclinations, to give a greater variety and prominence to their individual characters.'

"Not that I would speak with satisfaction of our present. Far from it. All I intend is this, that we should take a fair comprehensive view of the subject, and not charge upon our whole population, much less upon the more exemplary portion of it, the faults of those (few still, in comparison) who turn their liberty into licentiousness."

PRO-SLAVERY CHRISTIANITY IN NEW YORK.

UNDER this head we introduced in our April Number a report copied from the *Scottish Press* of a meeting which had been held in New York, on the 29th of December last, by the *New-York Young-Men's Christian Association*. At this meeting a proposition condemnatory of Slavery was submitted for approval, and negatived by a majority of 14. Amongst the opponents of the proposition the Rev. T. L. Cuyler, was reported to have given as his reason for voting against it, that "the entertainment of the question would place the members of the Association in a false position before the public, and he did not see any propriety of bringing the subject before the Association."

The Rev. T. L. Cuyler is about to visit this country, and to address public meetings on the subject of intemperance.

He has paved the way for his arrival by addressing the following letter to the Hono-

rary Secretary of the *United-Kingdom Alliance*, who has requested us to rectify the error into which we have fallen.

"New York, U. S. A., May 4th, 1857.

"HON. AND DEAR SIR—Your kind note of the 14th April has just reached me—all the more welcome as coming from one so well known and honoured among us as a staunch friend of prohibition.

"I propose a brief tour in Europe as a respite from heavy pulpit and platform labours, and hope to be in London for ten days or a fortnight in July. During my short stay there, I would most cheerfully render such poor service as I can to the good cause, if our friends wish to hold a public meeting. At the house of my friend, Edward Vickers, Esq., of Sheffield, I may also pass a few days, but it will not be in my power to deliver many public addresses of any kind during my hurried tour. The *American Temperance Union* and the *Young-Men's Christian Association* have given me appointments to represent them abroad as I have opportunity, and I shall hope to take some of their good friends by the hand whilst I am with you. By the way, I notice to-day a most absurd and ludicrous report in your *British Anti-Slavery Reporter*, that I had taken ground against free discussion on Temperance and Slavery in the *Christian Association*: it is just the opposite. I have laboured hard, and successfully, too, to secure free speech on both at our meetings. How is my beloved friend Neal Dow? Present to him my warmest regards. In this State a *Stringent-License Bill* has been enacted, which our friends, I think, will try to make prohibitory, by refusing licenses as far as possible, and by prosecuting offenders. Of course, it is not our Bill; and if, after a fair trial, it fails, we have a new argument for total prohibition. We see no consistent ground for temperance men short of entire prohibition of tippling-houses. Our friend Mr. Gough left my house yesterday for the West. He will sail for England on the 1st of July. With cordial good wishes and heartfelt sympathy in your noble efforts, I remain, dear Sir, your's faithfully,

"THEO. L. CUYLER.

"P.S.—I expect to sail in the steamer of June 24th."

We had penned a few observations on what we considered the false position in which the Rev. T. L. Cuyler had placed himself; but having, at the moment of going to press, had our attention directed to a letter of that gentleman's, in which he formally denies that he voted against the resolution, we think it only right to allow him to speak for himself.

The letter was addressed to the Editor of the *Maine Temperance Journal*.

"New York, May 2, 1857.

"DEAR SIR,—In your Paper of the 30th of April I see it stated (on the authority of the *British Anti-Slavery Reporter*) that I had 'voted to forbid the discussion of slavery in the New-York Young-Men's Christian Association.' The charge is entirely false. I have voted heartily in

favour of free speech in our Association, both on Slavery and on Temperance, and have been roundly abused in this city for so doing. During the late excitement in regard to the proceedings of the Association, a vast deal of misrepresentation has appeared in the public journals; and among the scurrilous falsehoods is the very paragraph which you so unfortunately quote.—On the evening when a resolution was passed to 'forbid the discussion of all questions about which members differed,' I was not present. That resolution has since been rescinded, and I voted for its repeal. I have ever counselled peace and fraternity in the Association, but never at the expense of principle.

"Yours for the right,

"THOS. L. CUYLER."

THE DRED SCOTT CASE.

THE following remarks on this memorable case are from the *Auburn Christian Advocate* of the 25th March ult. It bears a testimony in favour of the African race worth recording.

"Five of the justices of our National Tribunal, all of them from slaveholding States, and all members of the present dominant party, have decided, in the middle of the nineteenth century, that a man of African origin is not, and cannot be, a citizen of the United States.

"What is there about Africa, which the old geographers of the classic ages of Greece and Rome regarded as a part of Asia, that reduces a person born there, or descendants from persons there born, though it be after the lapse of a hundred generations, to a mere animal, a part and parcel of the brute creation? The citizens of Egypt, of all the parts bordering on the Mediterranean, where science and literature had their origin, are all of African descent. Africa is the country where all human learning had its birth. The Greeks themselves confess that their civilization came from Africa. This civilization was conferred by the Greeks upon the Romans; and the Romans have given it to the modern world. This country of ours, through this chain of events, is more indebted to Africa, than ever Africa can be to us. Why should we, then, in return for all these benefits, disfranchise, degrade, chattelize, every man, woman, and child, that has running in his or her veins the first drop of African blood? There is no reason for it in nature, in religion, or in common law. It is a monstrosity, to be paralleled by nothing within our recollection since the world began.

"We are glad to see that the four justices from the free States dissent from this decision, and two of them have pronounced it an unrighteous thing. Justice M'Lean says, that all those parts of the decision, not called for by the case in hand, which involves only the question of jurisdiction of the Court over Scott, the Court had no authority to render, and that, consequently, he shall pay no regard to them himself, either as a citizen or a judge. Justice Curtis declares, in

giving his opinion, that persons of African descent can be citizens of the United States; that persons of African descent always have been citizens of the United States; that persons of African descent actually voted on the question of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States; and that in several of the States there are now many persons of African origin, clothed with all the rights and immunities of regular citizens of this country. The decision of the Court, therefore, he regards as not only against the theory of our Government, as heretofore understood, but against the historical and now existing facts in the case."

HAYTI.

THE following remarks on Hayti are so pertinent, that we consider them worthy of being as extensively circulated as our own columns. They are from the pen of Mr. F. W. Chesson.

"Hayti is a country unfortunately but little known in England, and is generally associated with sanguinary revolutions, and scenes of disaffection and blood. But while a retrospect of Haytian history may, to a great extent, justify this idea of the country, as far as the past is concerned, it by no means follows that that idea is applicable to the present state of affairs. On the contrary, we have great reason to believe that, under the firm and enlightened rule of the Emperor Faustin, aided by men of experience and wisdom, Hayti has entered upon an era of peaceful prosperity, during which she will make equal progress in the development of her material resources, and the cultivation of those moral qualities which constitute the chief glory and strength of a nation.

"Few Englishmen (as far as our observation extends) know much either about the geographical position of Hayti, or the character and condition of her people; and yet the communication between the two countries is direct and frequent, and they are engaged in a large and lucrative trade with each other, as many English merchants are able to testify. Hayti is second to no country in the world in the fertility of her soil and the excellence of her produce. Her coffee, cocoa, sugar, cotton, and mahogany are world-famed; and we believe that, in the matter of cotton particularly, she will ultimately be enabled to perform an efficient part in removing the necessity for the almost exclusive use of slave-grown cotton which is now unhappily imposed upon us.

"But Hayti possesses other claims upon our attention besides those which are derived from the richness of her soil and the value of her natural products. In the various mechanical arts, especially in those which, like cabinet-making, require more than ordinary skill, the Haytians greatly excel. The following extract from an article on 'The Industrial Arts of Hayti,' written by a young Haytian, M. Dorvelas Dorval, will afford our readers some idea of the mechanical progress which his country has already made:

"In the plains of the Artibonite were made formerly some coarse cotton stuffs, known by

the name of *basalouan*, hammock-cloths, girths, for saddles, ropes of the palm-tree, and baskets, and other objects of straw. Emdroidery in silk, cotton, and gold thread of different shades, and the making of artificial flowers and fruits in wax, also occupy the delicate hands of our young city girls. Tanning, although not of the most perfect kind, shoemaking, harnessmaking, hatmaking, goldsmithing, and clockmaking, all afford products worthy of notice, and employ many excellent workmen. The tailor's art, practised by Haytian as well as foreign workmen, follows the European fashions. But the business in which the improvement is most evident is cabinet-making. It is to some skilful German workmen that we owe the formation of those young and intelligent Haytian operatives, whose number is increasing every year in our towns, and who make beautiful furniture, after the European manner, and in a highly finished style.'

"There is, indeed, no department of mechanics, agriculture, or even the fine arts, in which the people of Hayti have not afforded a proof of their ability to keep pace with European civilization.

"A Haytian friend of ours tells an amusing story of a French bishop who was appointed to a diocese in Hayti, and who went out to the country with the idea that he was going to labour among a people as barbarous as the negro tribes of Western Africa. What was his astonishment, on landing at Jacmel, to find himself surrounded by all the evidences of an advanced civilization, and welcomed by a society whose good breeding and polished manners rivalled the social habits of Paris or London. But the bishop would have felt little surprise at what he saw and heard if he had been previously aware of the existence, throughout the country, of an admirable system of education. It may not be generally known that, so far back as 1815, King Christophe introduced the Lancasterian system, under the able supervision of a number of enlightened English masters, whom he obtained from this country. The country is divided into sixty-five parishes, in each of which a public school is maintained by the State; while in Port-au-Prince, Cape Haytian, Aux Cayes, and other important places, colleges, schools of medicine, and other superior educational institutions exist, for the benefit of all classes of the community. In the colleges the English language is taught; the value of that acquirement being universally appreciated, especially by persons engaged in mercantile pursuits. All the teachers are natives of the country, and many of them are persons of remarkable ability and attainments. The Emperor manifests a great desire to promote the education of his people, and no man is more fully conscious of the importance of the general diffusion of knowledge as a means of increasing the happiness and prosperity of the country, and thereby adding to the stability of the empire. Hence His Majesty exercises a vigilant guardianship over the national schools, and endeavours, from time to time, to increase their efficiency and usefulness.

"Of the literature of Hayti we will, at pre-

sent, say little, although much might be written thereupon. She can boast of her historians, one of whom, Madiou by name, has acquired some celebrity: she can claim to have given birth to novelists and dramatic and satirical writers of no mean ability; while her *Moniteur* and *Commercial Journal*—copies of which we have had the pleasure to receive—prove that she does not withhold encouragement from journalism.

"No country has been more grossly calumniated than Hayti, but never were the primary causes of calumny more apparent. The United States of America naturally regard her with an unfriendly eye, because she is a standing protest against the system of negro Slavery, and a convincing evidence of the moral and intellectual equality of the African race. And while we are gratified to know that the French Government and people are disposed to view Hayti with a friendly eye, yet, unfortunately, some of the public writers of Paris have sought to perpetuate those feelings of hostility towards the former slaves of France which were excited by the successful efforts they made to cast off her galling yoke.

"As a consequence of the state of public opinion in America we find the pro-slavery party making insidious attempts to obtain such a footing in the hitherto ill-governed and disorganized republican State of St. Domingo as will enable them the more effectually to attack the independence of Hayti, which is by far the wealthiest and most powerful section of the island. But we are glad to be able to state that General Santana, the President of the Dominican Republic, who, there is grave reason to believe, had availed himself of his elevated position to promote the intrigues of American agents, has been removed from office amid general expressions of satisfaction. His successor is M. Buenaventura Baez, a patriotic statesman, whom he banished on his elevation to power, and whose Presidency, says the *Journal des Débats*, 'was inaugurated by public rejoicings.' 'The people,' continues the same journal, 'repaired in a body to the residences of the Archbishop, the ex-President, General Reglamota, the Consuls of Spain, England, and France, where speeches were delivered in celebration of this propitious event.'

"We earnestly wish that the *Journal des Débats* exhibited as intelligent an acquaintance with the state of Hayti as it does with that of St. Domingo. But the reverse is the fact; and to such an extent has it misrepresented the condition of the former country that the Baron Damier, the Haytian Minister at this Court, felt himself called upon to administer a dignified rebuke to the unfair statements of the French journalist. In his reply he made the following pertinent remarks:

"I beg you and the whole world to believe me when I declare that the condition of Hayti is such as to command respect. She is a State duly organized, and not only progressing, but strenuously and unremittingly exerting herself to attain the height of civilization already reached by the other nations of the universe. Her government is an enlightened one. Every unprejudiced and candid foreigner who visits our country is delighted to

render it justice, and to acknowledge that the chief to whom it has confided its destinies, my august Sovereign, the Emperor Faustin I., is fully competent to fulfil his mission; that he has effected wonders for the amelioration and prosperity of the country, and that he has nothing more at heart than to satisfy to the utmost the aspirations of all who are interested in the future of the black race. Fully impressed with the conviction of our dignity as a nation, and with a sense of the duties imposed upon us, we shall, with the blessing of the Almighty, and in despite of our traducers, attain a position which will constitute the best justification, not for us Haytians alone, but for every man of our race, to whatever country he may belong. Such is my hope.'

"It is a pleasure for us to turn from the *Journal des Débats* to pay a tribute of justice to another organ of the French press, *Le Courier du Havre*, which has done justice no less to the efforts which Hayti is putting forth to raise herself to an equality with other civilized nations, than to the importance of her geographical position, and the desirability of maintaining her independent existence. The following extract from this article cannot fail to be interesting:

"The two allied nations, especially France, ought, for reasons just given by us, to sympathise with that empire and its government, and to watch over the preservation of its political existence as a free, sovereign, and independent State. It is remarkable to observe the great facility with which European ideas are penetrating into the young and stirring society of that island, which has been laughed at, because people did not understand the unheard-of efforts made by its inhabitants to constitute themselves into a State. Every day a new reform is going on: and as the example of France is, to be sure, the best to imitate, her constitution is being introduced more and more thoroughly into the customs of the country, and our civil and governmental manners are becoming those of the Haytians. The disposition of that people to imitate France has been laughed at. Ought the coloured population of that island to extemporise a manner of living utterly different from that which is rendered unavoidable by the contact with civilization? To proscribe imitation in this case would be the same as to return to barbarity. The slanderers of Hayti did not understand that; they have been witty gratuitously, and without reason; they did not see that it would have been honourable in them to encourage these generous efforts, instead of cruelly abusing former slaves, the heroic pioneers of progress, who became independent by their valour, and were left to themselves to create a nationality. The man who, better than all his predecessors, understood the future of his country, he who felt in himself the force and energy necessary to overwhelm anarchy and to found a strong and stable government, is the Emperor Faustin I. In spite of rebellion and treason he goes straight on his way, without caring for obstacles, which he overthrows in order to arrive at his end—the consolidation of the groundwork upon which he is raising a governmental edifice which is to assure the destiny of his people.'

"We cannot but deplore as a calamity the

continued disunion subsisting between Hayti and St. Domingo. The fact simply is, that the island ought not to be ruled by two distinct governments. Imagine the feuds, the jealousies, and probably even the wars, which would arise if England were divided into two separate principalities, each maintaining a different form of government, and each pursuing a policy peculiar to itself? Yet such is the actual state of affairs in the island of St. Domingo at the present time; while an additional misfortune is, that the isolation of the Dominican Republic from its more important neighbour has enabled foreign intrigue to aim successive blows at the independence of the whole country. The old adage, 'union is strength,' is a very hackneyed expression, but, in the case of Hayti, it becomes peculiarly applicable; and, until it is realized, we shall not think that negro capacity for self-government will have had a fair trial. The union of the two States under one government would form a far more effectual guarantee of the permanent independence of the entire nation, and of the triumphant discomfiture of foreign marplots, than any engagements into which France and England might enter, or any display of naval power which they might make in the Gulf of Mexico or the Caribbean Sea.

Postscript.—Since the foregoing was written, a suspension of hostilities between Hayti and St. Domingo has been agreed to."

ANTI-SLAVERY ITEM.

FUGITIVES FROM PREJUDICE.—A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Price Current*, writing from New Orleans, says: "In the list of names recently published of Americans at the French Court, who had been received by the Emperor and Empress, we find the names of a family of five persons recently belonging to this city. The family possessed wealth, lived in an elegant house on one of the most fashionable streets—it was elegantly furnished and decorated with paintings. They drove about in their carriage. The daughters were educated by private instruction in all the branches of education, useful as well as ornamental; but they could not have any society, or be admitted into the Opera House, on account of the tinge of coloured blood on the mother's side; her daughters now standing the eighth generation removed from the negro, though to all appearance they were as white as any one you would meet on the street. Of course their situation was very uncomfortable for them here. Last year they sold off house, furniture, and every thing, at considerable sacrifice, and left for France. Since their arrival there, we hear that one of the daughters has married a foreign ambassador at the court of Louis Napoleon."

Advertisement.

ROCHESTER ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

(AMERICA.)

WHEN soliciting Contributions for the Annual Bazaar, which the *Rochester Anti-Slavery Society* has originated, it seems de-

sirable to inform contributors of the objects to which the funds thus raised are applied. We may, therefore, state that money realized by the Bazaar sales is devoted to spreading anti-slavery information throughout the United States, and aiding fugitive slaves on their way to Canada. This is the only Ladies' Society which makes help to fugitives a part of its duties: it is in communication with the Gentlemen's Vigilance Committee at New York, and with a Society in Canada, and is well situated for carrying out this object, the City of Rochester being within a few miles of Lake Ontario, on the Erie Canal, in the direct route from the region of Southern bondage to the land of British freedom.

To keep before the public intelligence of the evil of Slavery the Society arranges for Lectures, and contributes annually to sustain *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, a weekly anti-slavery journal of great ability, published in Rochester, and the organ of the coloured people of the United States. It is the only newspaper in America owned and edited by a coloured man, who was once a slave: and its own intrinsic merit, as well as the interest of the Abolition cause generally, requires that, above every other anti-slavery journal, it should be sustained. Its great object, next to the emancipation of the slave, is the elevation of the free coloured Americans, on whom it inculcates self-exertion, self-reliance, and mental culture, as essential instrumentalities towards their attaining aright position in society. The paper also strives to remove the many disgraceful disabilities, social and political, by which the coloured people are oppressed.

Some of the articles mentioned in the Bazaar Reports as commanding a ready sale are as follows:—Materials for children's dresses *unmade*; aprons and pinafores of all kinds *made up*; baby linen, with the exception of caps; hosiery, worked collars, and cuffs; crochet work of all kinds, tatting, and knitted edgings; cambric handkerchiefs; fine Irish linen; boxes of tapes; white crochet mats and d'Oyleys; purses and balls; needle-books and pincushions of superior quality; knitted and embroidered slippers; sofa-cushions, and carriage-bags; Honiton lace; *papier maché* ornaments; Irish bog oak ornaments; fancy stationery, and water-coloured drawings.

A complete list of the contents of every box, with *very low* prices affixed, should be placed at the top of the box. This will save the goods from being tossed over, and thereby injured at the Custom-house, and the duties will be estimated at the low valuation. A second list, with Bazaar prices marked, may be sent to the Secretary of the Rochester Society. It has been desired that all goods should be marked with the name

of the place whence they are sent, to facilitate acknowledging them in the Report of the Bazaar.

Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies in aid of that of Rochester have been formed during the past year, in the following towns: Dublin, Liverpool, Birmingham, Derby, Coventry, Mansfield, Sheffield, Rotherham, Huddersfield, Doncaster, Wakefield, Barnsley, Bradford, and Halifax.

Mrs. J. Robberds kindly undertakes to forward a box, and will receive collections (paid to Liverpool) till the 30th of September, 1857. Address, High Park Street, Liverpool.

The following are the names of those who will receive Contributions:

Aberdeen . . .	Mrs. Brown, 156 Crown-st.
Arbroath . . .	Mrs. Salmond, Mill Head.
Barnsley . . .	Mrs. Willan.
Beckenham, Kent,	Rev. Dr. Marsh, (pecuniary contributions only.)
Belfast . . .	Miss H. Hincks.
Birkenhead . . .	Mrs. I. B. Cooke, Shrewsbury-road.
Birmingham . .	Mrs. E. Sturge, Wheeley's-hill.
Do. . .	Mrs. Goodrick, 11 George-street, Edgbaston.
Bradford . . .	Mrs. Ecroyd.
Brechin . . .	Mrs. Lamb, the Latch.
Bridge of Allan, } Scotland, }	Mrs. Blair.
Bridgewater . .	Mrs. A. King
Bristol . . .	Mrs. R. Charleton, 13 Cotham New-road.
Chelmsford . . .	Mrs. Johns, Goldlay House.
Cork . . .	The Misses Jennings.
County of Donegal,	Mrs. Young, Culfaduff House, Carndonagh.
Coventry . . .	Miss Cash.
Derby . . .	Mrs. Emma Steer.
Do. . .	Miss Hutton.
Doncaster . . .	Mrs. Tyte, 11 Priory-place.
Dublin . . .	Mrs. Studdert, Rathgar Mansion.
Do. . .	Mrs. W. Webb, 8 Dunville-avenue, Cullinswood.
Dundee . . .	Mrs. Borwick, Ball-street.
Edinburgh . . .	Mrs. Dr. Grey, 5 East Claremont-street.
Do. . .	Mrs. Marshall, Stead's-pl., Leith-walk.
Do. . .	Mrs. Horsburgh, 18 Buccleugh-place.
Do. . .	Miss Leishman, 42 Minto-st.
Evesham . . .	Miss Davis, Almswood.
Falkirk . . .	Mrs. Hamilton, Old Manse.
Glasgow . . .	Mrs. Dr. Robson, 2 Queen's-crescent.
Do. . .	Miss Smith, 62 Kelvin-grove-street.
Greenock . . .	Mrs. Reyburn.

Halifax . . .	Mrs. Hargreaves, Lord-st.
Do. . .	Mrs. R. L. Carpenter, Milton-place.
Huddersfield . .	Mrs. Pritchett, New North-road.
Lancaster . . .	Mrs. Barton Worthington.
Leeds . . .	Mrs. Thomas Harvey.
Do. . .	Mrs. F. Fryer, 14 Briggate.
Leicester . . .	Mrs. Gittins, Church Gate.
Do. . .	Miss Hannah Burgess.
Liverpool . . .	Mrs. J. Robberds High Park-street.
Do. . .	Mrs. Bulley, Grove Park, Lodge-lane.
London . . .	Mrs. Dr. Campbell, Tabernacle House, Finsbury.
Do. . .	Mrs. Fisher, 188 Strand.
Do. . .	Mrs. M. Bowden, 53 Gracechurch-st. (Free-Labour Dépôt).
Do. . .	Miss Claridge, 2 Regent-pl. East, Regent-square
Do. . .	Mrs. Chalmers, 12 Douglas-road, Canonbury.
Do. . .	League of Brotherhood Office, 35 Broad-st. Buildings.
Do. . .	British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Office, 27 New Broad-street.
Manchester . . .	Miss S. A. Morris, 53 Fern Bank, Cheetham-hill.
Mansfield . . .	Mrs. M. Adlington, King's Mills.
Merthyr . . .	Miss Howell, George Town.
Montrose . . .	Mrs. Dr. Lawrence.
Do. . .	Mrs. McDermott.
Nottingham . .	Miss Lucy M. Woods.
Rotherham . . .	Mrs. G. Taylor, Donside.
Sheffield . . .	Mrs. Yeomans, Up. Thorpe.
Taunton . . .	Mrs. Blake, Bishop's Hull.
Wakefield . . .	Miss Dawson, Chesnut-grove, Northgate.
Warrington . .	Mrs. R. Gaskell, Penketh.
Waterford . . .	Mrs. J. J. Strangman, New-town-buildings.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER.

IN our published List of Contributions in aid of *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, the following errors occur, which we take this opportunity of rectifying:

A Donation of 30*l.* from the *Bradford Anti-Slavery Society*, is put down at 5*l.*

Friend's Donation, by Mrs. R. L. Carpenter, 12*l.* 10*s.*, omitted.

The same, by the same, 4*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

Donation from the *Glasgow Association for the Abolition of Slavery*, 10*l.* omitted.

We have also to acknowledge receipt of 2*l.* from

Any Donations or Subscriptions for the above object may be sent to L. A. Chamerovzow, 27 New Broad Street, E.C., London.